THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCXXV.

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CRITICAL NOTICES:—

I.—GENERAL LITERATURE :—

1.—The Indian Mines Act, 1901, with Introduction and Notes, by W. Graham, Barrister-at-Law, of Lincoln's Inn, Member of the Indian Mining Association. Price one rupee. The Indian Daily News Press. Calcutta, 1901 ... i

2.—Hindustani Idioms, with Vocabulary and Explanatory Notes. By Colonel A. N. Phillips. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. ... ... *ib*

3.—The History of the Ganjam Malliahs in the Madras Presidency. Edited by H. D. Taylor, Esq., I.C.S., Collector and Agent to the Governor. Ganjam.—Government Press, Madras. 1901 ii

4.—The Spoilt Child : A Tale of Hindu Domestic Life, by Peary Chand Mitter (Tek Chand Thakur). Translated by C. D. Oswell, M.A., Court of Wards, Bengal. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta iii

—Essays on Islâm. By the Rev. E. Sell, B.D., M. R. A. S., S. P. C. K. S. P. C. K. Depôt, Madras : Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., London iv

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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART I.—VICTORIA QUEEN-EMPRESS, AND WOMEN AS RULERS.

NOW when a whole nation and indeed the entire civilized world are sorrowing at the death of our noble Queen, who has left behind her—

> "One of the few, the immortal names
> That were not born to die,"

it seems a fitting time to consider what examples history affords us of women as distinguished political rulers. It was observed by Lord Bacon that "all ages have esteemed a female government a rarity; if prosperous a wonder; and, if both long and prosperous, almost a miracle." Had he lived at the present day he would have been compelled to admit that such a miracle had been accomplished to the fullest extent. But in truth the more we consider the examples that follow, which are furnished to us by nations not only geographically widely apart, but completely divergent in character, the less inclined we shall be to agree with the great Lord Chancellor of Elizabeth's reign, that a successful female ruler is so great a rarity as he asserts. On the contrary, we shall find that in many a political crisis of a nation's history it has been the genius and virtues of a woman which have saved it from impending ruin or raised its fortunes to the highest point of prosperity. To an Englishman, indeed, who has had the happiness of living under the late reign, who has seen his country expand year by year in greatness and in wealth under the wise guidance of a Sovereign whose life was as pure as her rule was beneficent, and who has made himself familiar with the past history of his own country, it may be said with truth in the words of the greatest poet of the Victorian era, "Faith in womankind beats with his blood." At the present moment there is not a subject of this vast empire who, although bowed down by sincere grief at the great loss which has befallen him and his fellow subjects, does not feel a sense of just pride in the thought that it is to

his late beloved Queen that the world is paying the homage that is due to virtue and goodness, and that in death as in life Victoria the Great is loved, honoured and revered. For sixty-four years that noble woman had wielded the sceptre of the British Empire, and her subjects had learnt to love and reverence her as the Mother of her country, whose whole life was devoted to its service, and whose heart beat with a responsive sympathy to the trials and sufferings of the humblest of her people. Her fame as a wise, just and virtuous ruler had spread to lands in the four corners of the Globe, and white and coloured races alike honoured her name as the emblem of true sovereignty and greatness. A Constitutional Monarch, Queen Victoria knew the limits which the laws of her country placed upon her power and authority, and she rigorously observed them. At the same time she knew the immense influence that was still reserved to her, and she never failed to exercise this influence for the good of her country. From the first she recognised the principle that a Sovereign's power and authority rest upon the love and confidence of the people over whom they are exercised, and her aim in life was to win and strengthen these ties. She succeeded, and the devotion and loyalty of a contented and grateful people gave her the highest and only reward she wished for. Schooled in sorrow, borne with heroic resignation, she could feel for others, and her queenly consolation brought comfort to many an aching heart. But it was not only in these womanly virtues that Queen Victoria could claim the title of Great. In statecraft and administrative affairs she brought to her aid wide knowledge, ripe experience, and sound judgment, so that as her ablest Ministers have acknowledged her advice and opinion were always valuable and unaffectedly given. Simple in her own tastes and averse to ostentation or extravagance she could nevertheless, when occasion required, uphold the dignity and majesty of her exalted position with befitting splendour and magnificence. An accomplished linguist she was well acquainted with current literature, while her acquaintance with contemporary European history was as wide as it was accurate. The high tone and purity of her Court were the theme of universal admiration, while the love and affectionate devotion of her children and numerous grandchildren and great-grandchildren testified to her maternal tenderness and sweetness of disposition. Such was the high souled Lady who has just passed away from us in peaceful sleep, and whose memory will live through countless centuries as the Greatest Queen of the Greatest Empire the world has ever seen. Well may her subjects rejoice that no Salic law deprived them of the privilege of having such a ruler; Indeed such a law would have robbed them also of two other

Queens who have largely contributed to the building up of this great Empire.

Of these Queen Elizabeth holds the pre-eminent place in the popular imagination. To estimate her character properly we must take account of her early bringing up, and the atmosphere of intrigue and deception which surrounded her. Within three years of her birth her mother, the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, was beheaded to make room for Jane Seymour whom her cruel husband married the following day, and a subservient Parliament, less than two months afterwards pronounced both the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth to be equally illegitimate in order to justify the declaration that the succession to the throne should devolve on "the issue of the marriage of Queen Jane." The latter did not long survive her union with Henry the VIIIth, for she died twelve days after giving birth to a son, who afterwards became Edward the VIth. At his christening Elizabeth carried the baptismal robe, being at this time only four years of age, and before she had reached the age of ten her father had remarried three times, having divorced one wife (Anne of Cleves), beheaded another (Catherine Howard), and married the third (Catherine Parr), who happily for Elizabeth was a woman of exceptional firmness and culture and took a special interest in her education. While still in her fourteenth year her father died, and was succeeded by Queen Jane's son as Edward the VIth, then in his tenth year, who died six years later, leaving a will, executed under the instigation of the scheming Duke of Northumberland, excluding Mary and Elizabeth from the succession. Thus before she was out of her teens she had been the witness of events which were calculated to blunt all her more refined feelings, to make her distrust those around her, and never having herself known any home ties or the tender nurture of a mother, to become thoroughly selfish and indifferent to human suffering. But if her past experience was such as to school her into a cold and unfeeling woman, the next five years during which her step-sister Mary deluged the country with the blood of victims to her intolerant bigotry, and in the course of which Elizabeth's own life was frequently in danger, were years in which the arts of dissimulation, cunning and deceit were learnt and practised in the cause of self-preservation. Persecutions and burnings had almost stamped out all feeling of loyalty in the hearts of the people towards the throne, while the nation had suffered humiliation by losing Calais and other possessions whose acquisition had been associated with the most glorious feats of arms. The one hope for a country so grossly misgoverned was the death of the religious bigot whose name has been handed down to posterity as the Bloody Mary. When that death came

as it did on the 17th November 1558 it was hailed with a sigh of relief and a feeling of thankfulness that God had not altogether ceased to guard the destinies of the land. A lone and friendless woman Elizabeth ascended the throne of her father at the age of twenty-five, and she wisely felt her way cautiously before she displayed the full force of that iron will and fiery temper which would make her enemies tremble in the near future, and startle to terror those who presumed to act on their own initiative. No one could have divined at first whether she was more disposed to maintain the Roman Catholic ritual or the reformed religion of Luther or Calvin, although it is probable that she inherited a predilection in favour of the latter from her mother, from whose eyes, as the poet Gray has it, the "gospel light first dawned" upon the King while he was still under the influence of her charms and beauty. But her shrewdness at all events soon convinced her that the national tendency was in favour of the Protestant cause, and that cause she accordingly espoused, with the result that in less than twelve years from the date of her accession she was excommunicated by Pope Pius V who absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance. But Elizabeth by this time felt secure of the loyalty of her subjects and could afford to despise the fulminations of the Roman Pontiff. Fear never entered her mind, and it was her indomitable spirit, her vigour and her untiring energy, qualities which she inherited from her father, that appealed to the sentiment of her people and won their admiration and unique devotion. She was, however, devoid of ambition and a war of aggression was alien to her nature. But she was resolute in her determination to uphold what belonged to her, and she knew how to arouse the martial spirit of her soldiers, as when, for instance, she rode bare-headed to the camp at Tilbury, and declared that she was resolved "to live and die amongst them in the midst and heat of the battle," adding that she thought it "foul scorn that Parma of Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of her realm." The fact that the Spanish "Armada" had already been sunk or scattered partly by the English fleet and partly by stormy tempests, and that Elizabeth's parsimonious policy had weakened both the Army and the Navy, did not detract from the enthusiasm which this stirring speech from the lips of the Sovereign excited. To her people, she was ever the great Queen Bess, the Gloriana whom fortune favored, and under whose reign "golden days of prosperity, brilliant achievements abroad, and progress at home, had succeeded years of disaster, rebellion, persecution and misery." A reign also which was distinguished by the presence of a Shakespeare, a Spenser, and a Bacon in literature, not to speak of lesser

lights, by such naval heroes as Drake, Hawkins and Frobisher, and by such an intrepid adventurer as Walter Raleigh, could not fail to be regarded as illustrious. Elizabeth herself, if not what any candid historian would call a great woman, was, at all events, a very remarkable one. She was learned even for an age when learning was not uncommon among ladies of quality, and she could speak Latin, French, Italian and German (though the last with less fluency or accuracy than the others), while in Greek she had read Demosthenes, Isocrates and Sophocles. She was a skilful player on more than one instrument, and amidst all her cares she yet found time to translate Sallust and Boethius. Indeed it is a singular fact that while her defects were mostly those which distinguished her sex, such as vanity, wilfulness and a suspicious nature, her virtues were more of the masculine order. Her pursuits also were those which we expect to be cultivated by men rather than by women, and she was prosaic, often coarse in her manners and language, wanting in sympathy, and in that gentleness which is the distinguishing charm of a true woman. But it is when compared with the Sovereigns who immediately preceded and followed her, that her claim to greatness stands out pre-eminently; and we may perhaps trust as sincere the last words she spoke to her people when in replying to an address from the House of Commons she declared, appealing to the Judgment seat of a higher Judge to attest the truth of her words, "that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good." "Though you have had, and may have," she continued, "many princes, more mighty and wise, sitting in this seat, yet you never had, or ever shall have, any that will be more careful and loving." Bacon sums up his estimate of her character by saying that "the only proper encomiast of this lady is time, which, for so many ages as it has run, never produced anything like her of the same sex for the government of a kingdom."

If we turn to Queen Anne we have another example in our own history of a woman whose reign was signalised by material prosperity at home, by brilliant victories against the Continental armies at Oudenarde, Ramillies, and Blenheim under the skilful leadership of Marlborough, and by the rapid growth of England's maritime supremacy. If the Queen had not the learning and intelligence of Elizabeth she was more open-handed to the soldiers who fought and gained her battles, she was a true daughter of the Anglican Church, prided herself on being entirely English, and she loved her country and shrank from no exertion of which she was capable in order to discharge her duties efficiently. Her chief defect was indecision of character which made her lean upon others, at one

time upon the ambitious Duchess of Marlborough, and, at a later period, upon Mrs. Masham, a poor relative of the Duchess who succeeded in supplanting the latter and in gaining the entire confidence of the Queen. But at times Anne could show determination and vigour, even if not always wisely applied, as in her measures to ensure the efficiency of the Clergy, and in her insistence on appointing ministers of her own choice, irrespective of party politics, which was of course incompatible with a system of party government. She was described by Burnet as a "very extraordinary woman," and she appealed to the affectionate sympathy of her subjects as a distinctly *national* Queen. Her reign was also distinguished as coincident with the Union of England and Scotland, and produced both in literature and science a worthy record. Such men as Newton, Berkeley, Prior, Pope, Swift, Addison, Defoe and Steele would cast a reflected glory on any throne, even if the occupant, as in the case of Queen Anne, had no personal taste for art or letters.

India may properly be chosen to supply us with our next example. In that land women have usually led a secluded life since the era of the Mahommedan conquest. But despite this fact instances are not wanting where force of character has asserted itself even behind the *purdah* and within the secret precincts of the *Zenana*, and the one we are about to mention is perhaps the most remarkable of any. *Sultana Ruzia*, commonly known as *Ruzia Begum*, was the daughter of *Shumsed-din Altamsh* (A.D. 1211), who was one of the ablest, most enterprising, and best Slave Kings of Delhi, who established an independent kingdom in India after the death of Shahab-ed-din Ghori and the dissolution of the Ghorian Empire. The Sultana was called to the throne by the rebellious subjects of her brother Rukn-ed-din, who was deposed after a short reign of seven months after he had lavished his father's treasure on dancing women, comedians, and musicians, leaving the conduct of affairs to his mother, *Shah Turkan*, who is described by the native historian *Farishta* as "a monster of cruelty." Ruzia had already in her father's lifetime given evidence of administrative capacity of a high order when she had been appointed Regent during Shams-ed-din's absence in his southern campaigns, on which occasion it is said her father justified his selection of his daughter in preference to any of his sons on the ground that Ruzia, though a woman, had a man's head and heart, and was better than twenty such sons as he had. Her subsequent conduct on the throne confirmed her father's high opinion of her. Undaunted by the condition of open revolt which Rukn-ed-din's excesses and the cruelty of his mother had brought about, and which divided the country into two opposite factions, one

composed of irreconcilables bitterly hostile to the crown, Ruzia lost no time in meeting the crisis with firmness, tact, and considerable statecraft. She assumed the imperial robes, gave public audience daily, dispensed justice with impartiality, and confirmed with such revision as she thought desirable the laws of her father which had been abrogated in the brief reign of her brother. She skilfully also contrived to spread dissension in the rebel camp with such success that the chiefs distrusting each other separated and withdrew each to his own government speedily followed by her troops who overtook the leading chiefs, captured and slew them. Peace was now quickly restored throughout the kingdom and the people began to rejoice in a wise and just administration. "Ruzia Begum," says the native historian already quoted, "was possessed of every good quality which usually adorns the ablest princes; and those who scrutinise her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman!" Alas! she yielded to a woman's frailty and gave her heart, or was suspected of having done so, to an unworthy object, who was none other than an Abyssinian slave whom she advanced from the office of Master of the Horse to that of *Amir-ul-Umra*, or Chief of the Nobles. Her nobles were deeply mortified at the favor shewn to an ignoble subject, and the first to cast off his allegiance was the Viceroy of Lahore. Ruzia at once marched against him, but her troops mutinied, and in the tumult which followed her favorite was murdered and she herself was sent as a prisoner to the fortress of Bithunda to be safeguarded by Mullik Altunia, who shortly afterwards married her. Ruzia had not however relinquished all hope of regaining her throne, and with the aid of her husband she collected an army and marched against the capital—Delhi—where the new Emperor Bairam had proclaimed himself. The hostile armies met at Delhi, but Ruzia's troops were totally defeated, and in attempting to escape with her husband she was seized and put to death, after a brief reign which lasted three years, six months and six days. Her unfortunate end was the result of a single act of indiscretion, but for which it is probable that a woman of her virtues and ability would have consolidated her power and fulfilled the promise of the first two years of her reign. But the marks of royal favour she showered on her Abyssinian slave were fatal to her cause and "blighted all her prospects." "How," asks Farishta, "are we to reconcile the inconsistency of the queen of a vast territory fixing her affections on so unworthy an object?" The question would require too close a study of the psychology of a woman's affections for an answer to be attempted in the present paper, and we must leave it as Farishta does to those who would find such an

inquiry profitable to solve the inconsistency he laments. Suffice it to say that it brought to an untimely end a reign that gave every promise of being one of the purest and brightest in the annals of India. Another famous female ruler was *Chand Sultana* of the Deccan, who is the heroine of many fabulous stories, and who was undoubtedly one of the most distinguished women of the East. She was acting as Regent for her infant nephew Bahadar Nizam Shah when her territory was invaded by Prince Murad, one of the sons of the Emperor Shah Jehan who described him, if we may credit Aurangzeb, as "a glutton and a sensualist." The first defence of Ahmednagar by Chand Bibi was simply heroic. She laid counter mines to those laid by the besiegers, and when one of these were prematurely fired, causing a sudden panic amongst her troops who began to abandon the fortifications,—she appeared at the breach clad in full armour with a naked sword in her hand, and by her resolution and courage recalled the retreating soldiers to their duty. The fierce contest was carried on till nightfall, and Chand Bibi's magnificent courage so animated the defenders that all talk of surrender was now hushed. The Moguls, on their part saw little prospect of taking the town by assault, and they willingly agreed to terms of peace. But Chand Bibi had scarcely achieved this marked success when intrigues were again started against her, and her own Prime Minister was the chief conspirator. Prince Murad was once again induced to resume the siege with the aid of the King of Candesh. The gallant Queen was equal to the occasion, and a battle was fought by the contending armies on the banks of the Godavari. It lasted for two days and was maintained with great fury by both sides. Prince Murad claimed the victory, but if it was on his side it was of a pyrrhic nature and Murad showed no inclination to continue the control. The Emperor Akbar was so enraged at his conduct that he recalled him and determined to proceed to the scene of operations himself. Meantime treachery was undermining the Queen's heroic efforts to defend her capital, and it was not until she saw that further resistance was hopeless that she consented to negotiate for peace. But before these negotiations were brought to a close, her enemies induced some of the soldiers to rush into the private apartments and put her to death. It is satisfactory to know that this base act of treachery only hastened the doom of the besieged city. Within a few days of the Queen's murder the Moguls stormed and captured it, giving no quarter to the fighting men. Thus perished a Queen whose memory still lives in Deckan song and legend as that of a national heroine.

From the Far East, from that cold and unsympathetic land

of China where women are despised and treated as of no account, we can nevertheless draw more than one parallel example of a great Queen, whose genius has triumphed over difficulties which would probably have crushed many a ruler of the opposite sex, and who is reported to have maintained the dignity of the throne in a manner becoming a great prince. But one instance will suffice for our purpose. We shall select that of the Empress Wo, the widow of the great Emperor Taitsong, who gave China the blessings of peace and good government. After her husband's death she married his son and successor Kaotsong, and for nearly twenty-five years during which her second husband nominally ruled she exercised all real power and authority and succeeded in maintaining the great Empire established by Taitsong in the fullness of its glory. Upon her second husband's death in 683 A. D. she permitted Kaotsong's eldest son to succeed for a few days and then deposed him, setting up in his stead another puppet Emperor in whose name, but in accordance with her own absolute will, she continued to govern the Empire with all the attributes of sovereignty, and gave her own family name of Chow to the dynasty. She transacted all public business, appointed all the chief officers in the Empire, assumed the royal robes restricted to an Emperor, and offered sacrifice as the head of the state. This assumption of the outward symbols of imperial rank reserved by the custom of the country to a male ruler were distasteful to many of her subjects as contrary to usage and precedent. Plots were formed for her assassination and several risings against her authority took place. But the vigilance of the Empress was equal to the occasion, and her measures were so prompt and so drastic that all opposition soon subsided. She showed no mercy to guilty persons however eminent in rank, but, on the other hand, she took pains to sift all accusations and rigorously punished their promoters. Thus on one day alone it was found that out of a thousand accusations eight hundred and fifty were false, and those who promoted these false charges were promptly executed. By this discrimination and firmness she gained the confidence of the people, which she strengthened by wise administration and a just enforcement of the laws. She spared herself no labor, and so firm was her grasp of power that she caused her Empire to be respected by all her neighbours. Frequent frontier wars constantly engaged her attention, but they were always conducted with vigour and general success. Thus for twenty years after her second husband's death she continued to exercise an absolute sovereignty over the vast Empire with a wisdom and courage which entitled her

to a prominent place amongst the imperial rulers of her country. But her position as a female ruler was anomalous, and was only maintained while she had health and vigour to support it. As age advanced and her strength of mind and body grew feeble, her enemies became bolder, and at last when at the age of eighty a serious illness compelled her to keep to her chamber, they saw their opportunity and appeared in a formidable body at the palace and forced her to resign possession of the imperial seal and the insignia of empire, which she appears to have done with a dignity worthy of her previous record. She lingered for another year and then died, having proved to the world that even in China a woman was capable of wielding the sceptre with the energy, the firmness and wisdom of the most able prince. Her one weakness is said to have been her infatuation for a Buddhist priest, but this may be the invention of the malignity of her enemies who have shewn no desire to treat her with any generous spirit. The charge served, however, as a means of undermining her influence, just as we have seen was the case of a somewhat similar accusation against the Indian Queen Ruzia. But with the example already furnished of the facility with which false accusations were trumped up in those days, we have little confidence in accepting the truth of a palace scandal.

Yet another Eastern Queen may be mentioned, the far-famed Zenobia of Palmyra, that city of palms in the desert of Arabia, which for a brief period was the rival of Rome in splendour. Gibbon says of her that she was perhaps the only female whose superior genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her sex by the climate and manners of Asia. But Gibbon's knowledge of Asiatic history was imperfect, and he had probably not heard of either *Rusia Begum* or *Chand Bibi*. Not that Zenobia would suffer by any comparison with these ladies, for she was also a woman of exceptional gifts. Equally proficient in the languages of Greece, Syria and Egypt, she could descant on the beauties of Homer, the philosophy of Plato, or discuss the Sublime with Longinus, her tutor. She traced her descent from the Macedonian Kings of Egypt, and Cleopatra the Fair was one of her ancestors, whom she is said to have equalled in beauty and far surpassed in chastity and valor. The splendid victories of her husband Odenathus over the Persians, are ascribed as mainly due to her prudence and fortitude. She accompanied Odenathus on his campaigns on horseback, and was known to walk for miles at the head of the troops, heedless of fatigue or the discomforts of the camp. After her husband's death she ruled her dominions which extended from the Euphrates

to the frontiers of Bithynia, and included also her own inheritance, the Kingdom of Egypt, for five years with wisdom, courage, and success. In the sonorous periods of Gibbon she is described as being "guided by the most judicious maxims of policy. If it was expedient to pardon, she could calm her resentment; if it was necessary to punish, she could impose silence on the voice of pity." Her military genius was acknowledged by so great a commander as Aurelian, but her power and resources were unequal to cope against the Emperor of the West, and after a heroic defence of Palmyra she was forced to seek safety in flight, was captured and brought to her conqueror. But it was in this supreme hour of her trial that the Queen of the East, as she called herself, proved unequal to her destiny. The clamour of the Roman soldiery who demanded her execution caused her to tremble and to save her own life she descended to betray her friends and even her old tutor. Thus fallen and degraded she was reserved to grace the triumph of her captor, following his chariot on foot laden with jewels and bound with fetters of gold. As a Roman matron she vanishes from the pages of history, and her former virtues and deeds are dimmed by the depth of her fall.

Returning from the East to Europe for our further examples, we have in the case of Denmark a notable instance of a successful female Sovereign. Margaret, the second daughter of Valdemir III, King of Denmark, and the wife of Hakon VI, King of Norway, succeeded in course of time to both her husband's and her father's kingdoms. But this Semiramis of the North, as she has been called, was not content with a double crown, she cast her longing eyes on the Kingdom of Sweden also, to which her husband would have succeeded by right of inheritance had he survived. An appeal to arms resulted in favour of the Queen, her competitor, the Duke of Mecklenburg, being defeated and taken prisoner. The States, or Parliament, of the three kingdoms, were convoked at Calmar, a town in the north of Sweden, and by an Act known as the Union of Calmar which was passed at this great assembly, the three kingdoms were united under one Sovereign who was pledged to govern each according to its own laws and customs. This great event which united all Scandinavia under one ruler would, in itself, be sufficient to give Queen Margaret a unique position in the history of her time. But she seems to have had other claims to distinction, for by her good government she preserved peace and concord throughout her extensive dominions, which she transmitted to her successor free from all intestine trouble. It was only a century later, in 1523 A. D., when, through the cruelty of Christian II, the happy union which had been cemented under the

reign of Margaret was dissolved, that the triple crown was again divided and Sweden became once more an independent kingdom. The later history of that kingdom furnishes us with our next example in the person of the learned and cultivated Queen Christina, the daughter and successor of the great Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of the Thirty Years War and the most illustrious of all the Kings of Sweden. Christina had been most carefully educated, and when she succeeded her father at the early age of eighteen she astonished her counsellors by the vigour of her understanding. Like our own Elizabeth she refused to marry on the ground that she did not care to sacrifice her independence. It was due to her resolution, contrary to the advice of her most trusted counsellor *Oxenstjerna*, that she adopted measures which led to the peace of Westphalia, concluded in 1648, whereby Sweden obtained the duchies of Bremen, Verden, the whole of Western and a part of Eastern Pomerania, and Wismar. For a short time about the year 1650 her character seemed to undergo a sudden transformation and she became wayward and restless, indulging in great extravagance and neglecting her duties, which caused such great discontent that she resolved to abdicate. But her faithful friend and former guardian *Oxenstjerna* prevailed upon her to change her intention, and she then once more resumed her old mode of life devoting her best energies to the service of her country. Her court became the resort of men of learning from all parts of the world, and for the next four years she labored incessantly to restore peace and good government. But the Thirty Years War had increased the power of her nobility which they exercised in a manner which aroused serious discontent among the peasants, burghers and clergy. Feeling herself unable to cope with the difficulties which now surrounded her she again determined to abdicate and finally carried out her resolution by placing her royal insignia before the diet in 1654 in order that they might be transferred to her cousin Charles Adolphus, who had been one of her most ardent suitors. Christina was a woman of great intelligence, with a passionate love of art and learning, of much strength of character though somewhat eccentric, and in more peaceful times would have made a successful ruler.

In the Empress Maria Theresa, the daughter of Charles VI, who succeeded under the operation of the Pragmatic Sanction to the throne of Austria on the 20th October 1740, we have a woman who was, in Carlyle's estimate, "most brave, high and pious minded; beautiful, too, and radiant with good nature, though of a temper that will easily catch fire; there is, perhaps, no nobler woman then living." Her succession was immediately disputed by the Elector of Bavaria who, under the

title of Emperor Charles VII, invaded Austria with the aid first of the French and subsequently of the Prussians as well. But Maria Theresa appealed to the patriotism of her Hungarian subjects, and so bravely did they respond to her call, that she drove the French and Bohemians out of the Archduchy and compelled the Prussians to retreat from Prague after they had gained an initial success at the battle fought at Czaslau. The death of Charles VII in the beginning of 1745 altered the aspect of affairs, and the Empress was able to conclude peace with Prussia by the Treaty of Dresden in 1745, and with France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. By this last treaty her succession to the throne of Austria was recognised, and Maria Theresa, having secured peace and the recognition of her title, had time to look around and set her empire in order. She was deeply mortified at the part Frederick of Prussia had played, and she begrudged the cession of Silesia which had been secured by the Prussian monarch under the earlier treaty of Breslau (1742). She began to mass troops on the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia which aroused the suspicions of the ever-watchful Frederick, who demanded an explanation of this ominous demonstration, but receiving only an evasive answer he at once marched an army of 60,000 men into Saxony and took possession of Dresden. This was the commencement of that terrible Seven Years War in which no less than 853,000 fighting men are said to have perished, and from which none of the contending parties derived any material advantage. But Maria Theresa had at least the gratification of feeling that her soldiery had acquitted themselves well, and that her country had come out of the death struggle with honor and increased prestige. She now directed all her energy to the task of ameliorating the condition of her people and promoting the welfare of her country. She bettered the condition of the Serfs, she introduced schools throughout the Empire, encouraged commerce and industry, and removed many ecclesiastical abuses. On the whole she is entitled to be regarded as one of the most eminent monarchs who have ruled over Austria, and Carlyle's estimate of her character, which has already been quoted, fairly summarises her virtues, which were many. "No nobler woman then living" is high but not extravagant praise.

Catherine II of Russia was a woman of a very different stamp. She was able, ambitious, unscrupulous, and disregarded every moral restraint in her conduct. But it must be urged in her defence that she was married to a man (Peter III) who was depraved, drunken, and semi-idiotic, and that from the time of her marriage she lived at a Court where everything was corrupt, where intrigue was rampant, and where gross and

open immorality involved no social ostracism. For a handsome ambitious woman, bound to such a husband as Peter III, to find herself an absolute monarch in such an atmosphere, with no sort of restraining influence to exercise any check upon her, was a position which offered tempting allurements to license which it was not in Catherine's nature to resist. But while we have to draw a discreet veil over her private life, her public functions were discharged with a dignity, a capacity, and a thoroughness which mark her as a woman who was a born ruler of men. She triumphed over all her enemies, she extended the confines of the empire, she beat the Turks both by land and sea, she annexed the Crimea, Kuban and Taman to Russia, and lastly, by the partition of Poland she added two-thirds of that territory to the Russian dominions, although by this extinction of a nation's existence she incurred the odium of having committed the foulest deed in the history of the world. The splendour of her Court was magnificent, and her position among contemporary crowned heads was sufficiently imposing to satisfy her ambition. Her attempt to codify the laws of Russia on the basis of Montesquieu's plan did not succeed, but that amidst all her other schemes and occupations she should have directed her attention to such a work shows the breadth of her understanding and her desire to exert her energy in every department of administration.

With Queen Isabella of Spain we may fittingly bring our examples of Women Rulers to a close. She was the daughter of King John II of Castile, a weak but well-meaning prince who lamented on his death-bed that "he had not been born the son of a mechanic, instead of King of Castile." If he had Castile might have been saved a long period of anarchy and misrule, but then she might not have had an Isabella to restore her fortunes and to raise her to the position of a first-class power. Like many another instance which history records of a weak and incompetent prince, John II deserved well of his nation at his death by leaving at least one child of his loins who was destined to prove herself capable of retrieving his errors and those of his son and immediate successor, of bringing prosperity to the land, and consolidating and enhancing the grandeur of the monarchy, whose fortune he and his son and successor, Henry, had brought to the verge of ruin. A happy marriage with her kinsman, Ferdinand, the son of John II of Aragon, gave Isabella when she eventually succeeded to the throne of Castile on the death of her brother, Henry IV, a wise and faithful counsellor and an affectionate husband. But although Isabella was devoted to her husband, and constantly consulted him in all affairs of state connected with her own Kingdom of Castile, she never yielded

to him the attributes of sovereignty of her own paternal state. Ferdinand, on the other hand, although at first inclined to demur at all the essential rights of Castile sovereignty being vested in his wife, had the good sense to submit to the arrangement being assured by Isabella that the distribution of power was rather nominal than real, and that as their interests were indivisible his will would practically regulate hers. And so they continued to maintain these relations to the end. But while Ferdinand was cold and selfish, and was far from free of the taint of the gallantry of the period, Isabella was as pure in her private life, as warm in her affection and friendship as she was just and considerate in her conduct of public affairs, and generous in her recognition of the public services of others. Her aim was always to pursue the noblest ends by the noblest means, and the sagacity of her husband, his industry, sobriety and moderation, coupled with an impartial sense of justice in the administration of the laws, his outward decorum and respect for religion, and his steady determination to uphold the weak against the oppression of the strong, added to her own popularity and secured for their united governments the love of their subjects and the fear and respect of their enemies. To appreciate their joint efforts in promoting the welfare of their subjects, and repressing the undue powers which had been hitherto exercised by the nobles, we must bear in mind that the period was one of political transition from the feudalism of the Middle Ages to that of the Modern State, and that the difficulties which lay in their paths were many and serious, which might well have baffled less earnest and less skilful administrators than Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand. Ability and loyalty were the only passports to royal favor, and the meanest subject of the land could look forward to the attainment of the highest offices of trust if he had the merit to fill them. No more striking instance of this need be given than that of the great Ximenes himself, who, from a poor Franciscan friar of humble origin, rose to be primate, and to exercise the most extraordinary control over the destinies of his country. It was not only, however, in the conduct of home affairs that Isabella showed her great capacity. She exhibited equal intelligence, vigour and strength of character in all her foreign relations. Disliking war for the bloodshed and misery it produced, she never shrank from it when the interests of her country demanded an appeal to arms. On such occasions she appeared at the head of her troops, inspired them with fresh zeal and courage, and never hesitated to participate in the hardships which war entailed. Succeeding as she did (1474) when the misgovernment of her father and brother had brought the Kingdom to a tottering condition, and when the

total revenues of the crown did not exceed 885,000 reals, such was the expansion that followed her beneficent reign, that in the year of her death (1504) the income had risen to 26,283,334 reals, or thirty times the former amount in the space of thirty years. And this magnificent development of the resources of the country was attained without the imposition of a single additional tax; while the territorial limits of the monarchy were extended so as not only to consolidate the dominions of Castile and Aragon, but to include also Sicily, Sardinia, Granada, Navarre and Naples, the Canaries, Oran and other settlements in Africa, and the newly-discovered islands and continent of America. Every action of this great Queen was based upon some guiding principle, and if she erred she did so from an error of judgment, and very far from a spirit of indifference to what was right or wrong. It was from such a conviction of duty that Isabella fostered the Inquisition and tolerated the fanatical bigot Torquemada. But her punishment of the ecclesiastics of Truxillo shows that her reverence for the ministers of religion did not blind her to their faults, or prevent her from visiting them with her displeasure if they failed in their duty. Indeed a strong common sense dominated all her conduct, and enabled her often to discern what was best for her people and her country. Enough has been said to prove that Isabella was a great Queen, a good woman and a loving and faithful wife. On her death her devoted servant Peter Martyr wrote as follows: "My hand falls powerless by my side for very sorrow. The world has lost its noblest ornament; a loss to be deplored not only by Spain, which she has so long carried forward in the career of glory, but by every nation in Christendom; for she was the mirror of every virtue, the shield of the innocent, and an avenging sword to the wicked. I know none of her sex, in ancient or modern times, who in my judgment is at all worthy to be named with this incomparable woman."

As we read this eloquent tribute, if we only substitute the words "Great Britain" for "Spain," we cannot fail to be reminded how aptly it might be written to-day, when the whole land of Great Britain, and of that Greater Britain beyond the Seas, and every nation in Christendom is sorrowing for the death of even a greater and a nobler woman than Isabella of Spain. For while the souls of the countless victims of the cruel Inquisition would if they could speak and be heard, lay their persecution and corporeal deaths at the door so to speak of Isabella, who fostered and protected that monstrous institution, no human being could ever say that he or she had suffered an injury at the hands of that beloved monarch whose mortal remains were but lately carried to their

last resting place, accompanied by four foreign sovereigns, as well as by the representatives of every state in Europe and across the Atlantic, and through dense masses of her own devoted subjects who, bare-headed and in silence, paid their last respectful homage to the Queen who for sixty-four years had been the idol and pride of the country. Other women as we have seen from the examples given above, taken from the history of many nations, have proved that to rule an Empire with success and even glory is not the birthright of the male sex alone, and that women in this exalted sphere of activity as in other spheres of lesser importance have shown themselves to be endowed with equal capacity. But no woman-ruler whose name has come down to us, however eminent and worthy of admiration her record may be, can be compared with the peerless Queen who has just passed away from us. Some defect, some blemish, has left a speck on even the brightest of their careers. But it is not so with our late Queen. Her home life was laid bare to us and was found to be the centre of purity and love; her public life since she ascended the throne as a girl of eighteen has been open to the criticism of a free independent and enlightened press, and has been found to be blameless and in strict conformity with the obligations imposed on a constitutional monarch. Her ministers when they went to advise her found her already so well informed on the subject immediately in hand that there was nothing left for them to instruct her upon, but at the same time she recognised their primary responsibility and the limits of her own constitutional authority. If a calamity overtook any part of her distant possessions the Queen was the first to express her sorrow; and if any of her subjects were bowed down by any overwhelming grief it was the Queen's gracious message that was sure to bring the first words of comfort and consolation to the bereaved one. Her instincts were those of the nation, she anticipated with rare perception what was agreeable to her people, and her influence at home and abroad was immense, for she was revered and beloved by all. She has died in the fulness of years and honor, has reigned the longest of any other sovereign, and over the most mighty and the largest Empire that the Past has seen, and she has left behind her a name pure and spotless that has always been associated with the material and intellectual advancement of her people, with victory, triumph and prosperity. Her memory will be cherished by future generations as that of the Mother of Great Britain, as a Queen who was endeared to her people by every quality of head and heart that could appeal to a human breast, and the historian of the future will have to acknowledge that

She has been
A pattern to all Sovereignsdiving with her,
And all that shall succeed."

Her earthly course is ended, her work is accomplished, but her fame lives and will endure. As Körner beautifully sings,

Durch Todesnacht bricht ew'ges Morgenrot—
Wer mutig für sein Vaterland gefallen,
Der baut sich selbst ein ewig Monument
Im treuen Herzen seiner Landesbruder,
Und dies Gebäude stürzt Kein Sturmwind nieder.

W. H. RATTIGAN.

ART. II.—SERPENT WORSHIP IN MALABAR.

THE God of the Bible made the serpent cursed above all cattle and above every beast of the field. He also put enmity between the reptile and the woman, and between its seed and her seed. But one of the gods of the Vedas, Vishnu, takes pleasure in resting on a snake, and another, Siva, prides himself in being called Nāgabhūshanan, on account of the rich display of the reptile creation over his person. Thus, while the Christian and the Muslim take advantage of every opportunity to bruise the head of the serpent, the Hindus regard it with veneration. In Malabar it is something more, it is reduced to a systematic worship. No traveller who has spent a week in this district can but have had his attention drawn to the small plots of uncleared forests in the compounds of every Malayali of importance. On enquiry these turn out to be snake groves of which the district is full. To explain this universal and intensive worship of snakes, we have only tradition to fall back upon. According to the *Kerala Ulpathi*, a book of great renown in the country, the district of Malabar along with Cochin, Travancore South and a part of North Canara, extending from Comorin to Gokarnam, a distance of 640 miles north to south, was reclaimed from the sea by Srī Parasurāma and colonized by him. This great man was an Avatār of Vishnu, to destroy the cruel Kshathriya Rajahs, who succeeded a noble line of sovereigns of the warrior caste. He carried out his object by destroying the warrior chiefs twenty-one times. The sin of killing brave men, though cruel, was too much even for this incarnation of Vishnu. He therefore retired to Gokarnam in North Canara, and there invoked Varuna, the lord of the waters, to give him some land. Varuna accordingly went back a few miles, and 646 miles of land, called Kēralam, came into existence. Images of the god were then fixed in 108 places and the pioneer brought Brahmin settlers from the north of India to colonize the new country. But these settlers all ran away, after the stay of a few months, for fear of the serpents, of which the country was full. The land was then for sometime in the possession of serpents. That his labours may not be in vain Srī Parasurāma brought in a further contingent of Brahmins from the north. He then divided the country into sixty-four Brahminical colonies. To differentiate his colonials from the rest, and to prevent their running away, Sri Parasurāma required his men to shave off their kudami (tuft of hair) from the back of the head and to wear it on the top as the Malayali races do at the present day. Then

he granted a freehold over the whole land to the sixty-four colonies through the agency of "flower and water saying "you enjoy it." Then to protect his new land from human enemies he required the Brahmins to take arms from him. Some Brahmins, afraid to damage their Brahminical sanctity by the use of arms, refused to accept the gift, but others numbering 36,000 took arms from the pioneer. They were trained in the use of arms, and covered with rich presents, were ordered to protect the country from external or internal enemies. The snakes were giving trouble even now.

Sri Parasurāma called together all the sixty-four colonies and advised his men to regard the snakes as their household gods, and to reserve special places in the land he had already parcelled out amongst them for the accommodation and worship of the reptile creation. A part of every house site was accordingly kept apart for the snakes and offerings began to be made systematically, and the country became free from the fear of snakes. Such in brief is the traditional account for the appearance in large numbers of snake groves in Kēralā. These groves are mostly located in the south-eastern corner, but instances are not rare where they are found in other parts of the compounds as well. The most common trees we see in these groves are ungoo (Bauhinia Variegata) and Kanjuram (strychnos nuxvomica), other trees also may be seen growing there in their wild plenty. These trees are also generally entwined caressingly by several species of forest vines. The whole grove shows the appearance of a miniature reserved forest, as it is considered to be sacred, and the prejudice against cutting trees therefrom is very strong. During the hot weather, when the whole country is parched up, it is very pleasant to look at these snake groves, for they are the only places where a little greenery is found in a sea of dried vegetation all round. The size of these groves varies according to the capacities of the families. I have come across groves about three-quarter of an acre in extent. Ordinarily they would be of smaller dimensions. On peeping in you will see a "snake king" and a "queen," made of granite. On their right is found a tower-like place for holy serpents, made of laterite, called in the vernacular a Chithra Kūtam. It will be about a foot and-a-half in height and a foot broad. These groves are not always of necessity found in the compound in which a family resides. Every family in Malabar lives in its own compound and not in villages as in other parts of India; and each family has its own household snakes. These reptiles are said to have a partiality for their old habitations, and even if the family has, for some reason, removed from the ancestral dwelling place, the snakes are said to stick to their old places. In

Chethallūr Amshom, Walluvanad Taluk, there is a big colony of Tamil settlers called Mūthāns. On their first arrival in Kērala, they were only seven families. They built seven houses one contiguous with the others, as the Tamils do. On coming into this country they took to serpent-worship and seven serpent groves came into existence close to their houses. The seven original settlers were followed by others. The pioneers found there were more convenient places in their neighbourhood to live in. They removed their family residences to a distance of two and three miles. But the family serpents would not go, and we see the original settlers going all the way to these groves to make their offerings. The snakes were in the olden days considered a part of the property and transfer deeds of some fifty years ago make special mention of the family serpent as one of the articles sold along with the freehold-oases also are not rare, where the snake has refused to part with the family though the place where the grove stood was sold to a stranger. A respectable family in Angadipuram, Walluvanad Taluk, sold their ancestral house site to a supervisor in the Local Fund, P. W. D. He cut down the snake grove and planted it up. Some members of the vendor's family began to suffer from some cutaneous complaints. As usual the local astrologer was called in and he attributed the ailment to the ire of the aggrieved family serpents. These men then went to the Brahmin house of Pampu Mēkat in Cochin territory. This Namboodri family is a special favourite of the snakes. When a new serpent grove has to be created, or if it is found necessary to remove a grove from one place to another, the ritual is entirely in the hands of these people. When a family suffers from the wrath of the serpents they generally go to this Namboodri house. The eldest woman of the house would hear the grievances of the party, and then taking a vessel full of gingelly (sesamum) oil and looking into it would give out the directions to be observed in satisfying the serpents. In the case in point the family was ordered to remove the serpents to the new house site which was done accordingly and the ailments I am told were cured.

In addition to the groves found in individual compounds we have also snake shrines. I have come across five of them. Two are situated in the Namboodri houses of Athipatte and Etamana in Chethallūr Amshom, Walluvanad Taluk. A third in Pathirikunnath Mana, in Mundakōtakurshi Amshom, Walluvanad Taluk. A fourth is on a hill called Pāmpāti Mala, south of Kōttōye in the Palghat Taluk. But the most important of all these is in the Namboodri house, Pampu Mēkat, in Cochin territory. Leprosy and other cutaneous diseases and eye diseases in general are believed in Malabar to be the work

of serpents. Consequently large numbers of devotees are to be seen going to Athipatte Mana to be cured of their eye diseases. I went to this snake shrine one day. It is situated about twenty yards north of the house. The place is walled in on all sides and is open to the sky. On looking in we see prominently a snake "queen" made of granite. She is surrounded on all sides by granite specimens of snakes with one, three and five hoods fully spread. I counted nearly 300 of these granite snakes and they make a very gruesome collection. Pious devotees also bring snakes in silver and gold. These are taken inside leaving the "queen" to be satisfied with a surrounding of granite snakes. This shrine opens out on the west to a jealously-preserved serpent grove. While at a little distance, apart from the main grove, is another one of smaller proportions. This happens to have a history of its own. In the olden days a Namboodri of the Illom (Namboodri house), was going out to Travancore, when a Cheruma (agristic slave of Malabar) appeared on the hill opposite and cried for help to cure him of his eye disease. One of the boys of the house chattingly told the man to use a bundle of straw as a pillow and to bathe the eye with a poisonous fluid. The man did as directed. Three months afterwards, when the Namboodri returned, the Cheruman appeared with some presents. On being asked the reason for the unexpected gift the poor fellow replied that it was for the cure effected in his eye. The Cheruman was then required to bring the pillow he had used. On opening it a small golden coloured serpent with its hood fully spread was seen standing up. The Namboodri then sprinkled holy water on it. Thus purified the reptile went into the grove. But its stay for some months in the hut of an outcaste debarred it from associating with the rest of the snakes. The creeping thing was seen crawling outside the grove when the Namboodri made the special grove and offerings were made to this separately which continues to this day. A neighbouring shrine is the one at the Brahmin house called "Etamana." This is not so important as the one referred to. A more important shrine is the one at the Namboodri house called Pathirikunnath. When you go into that house you are terror stricken. The whole place looks an asylum for snakes. In the front verandah are seen a series of snake holes which communicate to innumerable anti-hills inside the house. Services in this place is entirely in the hands of women. This Namboodri was a rich landlord and was in affluent circumstance before. His present means of livelihood is simply from the income derivable from this snake shrine which is not a little. Visitors from all parts of the district may be seen in this Namboodri house with rich presents for the serpents worshipped in the place.

People in Malabar believe that snakes guard treasure. But silver they will have none. Even in the case of gold the snakes are said to visit hidden gold for twelve years occasionally, and only when they find that the treasure is not removed in the meanwhile that they begin to guard it. When once it has begun to watch the snake is said to be very zealous over it. It is said to hiss at it day and night. This constant application is believed to diminish its proportions, and instead of being the long thing it is, the snake is said to assume a smaller appearance. In time, in the place of the pointed tail, the reptile is said to get wings and the treasure, by the continuous hissing, to assume the form of a precious stone. When this is done the snake is said to fly with its precious acquisition. So strong is this belief that when a comet appeared some ten years ago people firmly believed that it was the flight of the winged serpent with the precious stone.

Of snake festivals we have not many. The Star Ayiliyam, the 9th asterism, for feet Leo is considered auspicious for serpent worship. The rule in Malabar is that all snake groves must be purified, and a pūjah offered to the serpents every month on this day. But generally it takes place only once a year. The pūjah is performed by a Brahmin. The grove is carefully cleaned and holy water is sprinkled in it. Then a heap of plantains, powdered rice, and a little milk will be placed in the grove. The Brahmin will then offer it with appropriate *mantrams* to the serpents and the ceremony is complete.

A festival on a grander scale is what is called a Thullal. The snakes are believed to have a hold on the continuance of the family, and this festival is celebrated occasionally to win the favour of the reptiles. The officiating priests for this are a class of people called Palluvans. A special pandāl is erected and figures of snakes are made with powders of variegated colours. A man of the Nair caste is for the time being appointed as master of the ceremonies. Two women of the house, or near relatives, will now sit on the western side of the figures of the serpents. The palluvans will then sing songs in praise of the many snakes to the accompaniment of the tap by the women of the caste on an instrument called *Palluvakatam*. Now as the man sings, the women are alleged to get into a frenzy, and they give out what snakes they are and in what way they may be satisfied. There is more singing now and more frenzy. They then creep and crawl in the snake figure and finally lie down as if senseless. The same ceremony is repeated for three or four days and the snakes are satisfied.

But the most curious belief about snakes in this district is

that they wed mortal girls. They fall in love with women. Many stories are told of the attack of women by serpents. But no informant of mine was able to tell me the particular woman of a particular house who has been dealt with in this way. When once it attacks a woman in this way the serpent is said to be constantly pursuing her. When she goes for her bath it is there; it is with her at her meals and everywhere; the serpent never leaves her except for an occasional separation for its food. Gradually both suffer and both die. The snake is said never to use its fangs against its chosen woman. So strong is the belief that women in Malabar would think twice before attempting to go by themselves into a bush.

Next to cow-slaughter the killing of snakes is considered the most hienous sin a Malayali may commit; and even to see a serpent with its head bruised is believed to be a forerunner of calamities. Pious Malayis when they see a serpent killed in this way will therefore have it burned with the full solemnities attendant on the cremation of high caste Hindu. The carcase is covered in a piece of silk and is burned in sandalwood. A Brahmin is hired to observe pollution for three or ten days, and elaborate funeral oblations are made to the dead snake.

When a snake is seen inside, or in the neighbourhood of a house, great care is taken to catch it without giving it the least pain. Usually a stick is quietly placed on its head and the mouth of an earthenware pot is shown to it. When it is in, the pot is losely covered with a cocoanut shell to allow free breading. It is then taken to a secluded place, the pot is destroyed, and the snake let free. It is considered to be polluted by being caught in this way and holy water is sometimes poured over it this time. In Malabar there is a caste of snake catchers called *Karavans*. They go about the country exhibiting their snakes. Malayalis consider it a great act of piety to purchase these reptiles from them and liberate them.

A district that has snakes in plenty cannot but have its snake doctors as well. In fact one of our proverbs says "if you learn only one art, you should learn the art of curing cases, snake poison;" there are in the country several men with a reputation of curing cases of snake poison. But their operations are so carefully and jealously kept to themselves that I am not able to give an account of the local cures for snake bite. The practise of this branch of medicine is hereditary, and the older, the family the more efficacious their cures are considered to be. But the work is said to arouse the wrath of the serpents and the practitioners are believed to

be impoverished by the influence of the snakes. To prevent the curses of these creatures having any effect on the practitioners or their families no one exercising the art would take any consideration from his clients however tempting the offer may be. With the advance of civilisation snakes are no longer the venerable creatures, or their groves the sacred places, they were. But all the old superstition is raked up when a Rajah, who may have killed serpents by hundreds, dies of a virulent form of leprosy, or when the near relative of an influential man, who is reputed to have shot down snakes in plenty, is attacked with a very bad specimen of skin disease.

C. KARUNAKARA MENON, B.A.

ART. III.—IN MEMORIAM.

VICTORIA R. ET I.

Her Court was pure; her life serene;
God gave her peace; her land reposed;
A thousand claims to reverence closed
In her as Mother, Wife and Queen.

—TENNYSON.

THE Queen-Empress is gone! Her world-wide Empire is plunged into the depth of sorrow! A grand personality marked by rare virtues is now gathered to all the glory and greatness of the mighty dead. The world that was privileged to witness and admire that noble personality is in mourning. Never before was there such a loving and beloved Monarch. Never before was there an Empress so mighty in power, and yet so sweet in temper. Wielding the sceptre of the greatest Empire in the world, occupying the proudest position on earth, and foremost of the world's mighty potentates, Victoria the Great stands all alone as the embodiment of all the virtues of womanhood. And to her, rightly styled "the mother of her people," millions of her devoted subjects all over the sea-girt earth vie with one another in paying reverential homage. A long and useful life of regal toil has come to a close. Deep-toned bells toll their muffled notes. The black pageant of death is abroad.

If her reign was unsurpassed in length of time, her Empire was unequalled in its vastness, and her era was unparalleled in the grandeur of mighty achievements in every department of Literature, Science and Art. Her reign was a series of continuous acquisition of dominion and of the arts that contribute to increased convenience and comfort. Peace and concord at home, and honour and influence abroad! Above all, she was, by Divine appointment, the real Sovereign of India, whose people she loved with the warmth of a mother. And this love she evinced in a thousand ways. Bound to her by bonds of love, India mourns for her Queen, who alone, of all, was able to understand her best.

With the vanishing of the Nineteenth Century, the Queen of the Century passed suddenly but radiantly away from us. And who will adequately portray the glory of her who presided for so long a time over the destinies of millions upon millions? And who that is acquainted with the facts of History, who that can realize the force of the temptations which beset thrones, sceptres and mitres, can withhold admiration of a Queen who rose superior to all the blandishments of

wealth, and all the demoralizing effects of power? Such was she, whose loss with one voice the whole of India bewails to-day. She was the greatest among the great potentates who ever reigned over mankind. She was the most womanly of women who have lived on earth. And her reign was the longest and the most glorious that has been recorded in the pages of History.

Blessed with a long lease of life—God willed it so perhaps for the sake of peace on earth and good-will among mankind—she, our Empress-Mother, seated on her throne, shedding effulgent light on all around, had the unique privilege of witnessing the panorama of Peers, Ministers, Chancellors, Archbishops, Field-Marshals, Viceroys, Presidents, Kings and Queens come and go. Possessed of a good disposition and endowed with a keen sense of right and wrong, she, the born-Queen, popularized thrones, consecrated crowns, and strove to better the condition of the millions scattered all over the globe who rejoiced to be her subjects. Whatever might have been the passing discontents of her peoples, with her they were supremely satisfied, and to her throne and person they were indissolubly bound.

Born at Kensington Palace, May 24th, 1819, as the only daughter of the Duke of Kent and of the Princess Louisa Victoria of Saxe-Coburg, having lost her father while she was yet a few months old, and brought up under the care of her mother, Victoria Alexandrina, came in succession to her uncle, William IV., to the throne of England, on June 28th, 1837, as Queen Victoria I. Married in 1840 to his late Royal Highness Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and widowed in 1861, she survived her husband for about forty years. Of her nine children, two died during her lifetime. Her children and grand-children are among Emperors, Kings and Queens, Dukes and Duchesses, Crown-Princes and Crown-Princesses, and our present Emperor, His Most Gracious Majesty King Edward VII., is her eldest son.

She was an ideal wife and a loving mother. Surrounded by loving and loved children and children's children, leading an exemplary life as a widow, she was ever devoted to the memory of her dearly loved husband. Take her as a maiden, she was all that a girl should be; take her as a woman, she was a Queen among women; and take her as a Queen she was as tender as a woman in her essential nature.

She loved her people as her own children; she made their sorrows and sufferings her own; she even went out of her way to sympathise with the poor and the depressed. Bound by the laws of the Constitution she merged her personality in the interests of the Empire. And yet she found it possible to see

her well-intentioned suggestions carried into effect by the irresistible force of her sincerity of purpose. We can understand the force of her character only when we realize the fact that she was able to turn the tide that flowed against Monarchy and what is more,—secured for herself a permanent place in the hearts of her people. In all relations of life she was gentle, loving and patient. We Indians especially owe her a deep debt of gratitude. She loved us well. It may take years, and possibly generations, before we can correctly estimate the deep interest she took in us, and the many ways in which she sought to befriend and benefit us. That political Gospel of ours, that Passport of our Political Redemption, our Magna Charta, Her Gracious Proclamation of 1858, shall ever extort accents of grateful praise from the millions of our countrymen.

She was great and glorious in every way. She was great, because she ruled long and well; she was great, because she ruled over an ever-widening Empire, vast in extent, rich in resources, mighty in power,—of the like of which History makes no mention and Tradition keeps no account. She was great, because her reign was unique in its prosperity; it was one long, continuous chapter of favourable accidents. She was great and glorious, because her era was an era of political enfranchisement of many a nation and of material prosperity and mental culture. Such revelations of science, such fruits of knowledge, such rapid strides in civilization as were never seen or heard of before in any age or country! Destiny made her a Queen, but Nature made her the Queen of Queens. Such was she whose end Death marked Tuesday, the 22nd January 1901, with sadness! For who will not weep over a death that cast a dark shadow of bereavement over half the world?

As a child she obeyed her parents, as a wife she obeyed her husband, and as a Queen she obeyed the Constitution. What more could she give us, and what more could we expect of her? She gave the teeming millions of India her sympathy—she gave them her heart. And what else can be dearer to us than this? In all circumstances and conditions of life she was ever thoughtful of her country and her people. With a sweetness of temper which was all her own, whether it was the gift of Nature or the product of self-culture, with the sagacity of a sage, and with the forethought of a born statesman, she steered the ship of the State clear of political sands and shoals. She lived a life that can serve as an example to men and women, to kings and queens, and to the high and low. She lived a long and useful life. She consecrated a regal life and honoured womanhood. Loved alike by the prince and the peasant, by the eminent and the obscure, by

the rich and the poor, she disappeared into History to cover its pages with imperishable glory. She is dead; her people are orphaned; the bond that bound her to her subjects, in half the islands and all the continents of the world, is broken; and the symbol of the Empire is effaced. She is gone; but she has bequeathed to us the beautiful image of her great and glorious life. She lived a good and happy life, and died a quiet and peaceful death. May her soul rest in peace!

A. GOVINDARAJA MUDALIAR.

ART. IV.—THE EVOLUTION OF A BRITISH COLONY.

(Continued from No. 224, April 1901.)

SECOND PERIOD.

1851-1855.

Victoria under a Legislative Council.

GOVERNORS:

1851. Charles Latrobe; 1854. J. V. F. Foster; 1854. Charles Hotham.

(*a*) SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION.

THE period opened with the disastrous results left as a legacy of the terrible conflagration on "Black Thursday." Many left the colony ruined; while the discovery of gold in New South Wales had the effect of drawing away others. This was the lowest ebb of the tide in the colony during this period, just at its commencement; but it soon turned with a rush. "Gold was in the air." The colonists whose fortunes were identified with Victoria had heard of tales of gold being found in various parts of the country, and formed a Gold Discovery Committee which offered handsome rewards to the finders of the precious metal. Search parties were at once organised. Before, however, they could do anything, other parties came forward with statements of gold having been found. These discoveries came so thick one upon another that not only was the tide of emigration to New South Wales stopped, but it began to be directed to Victoria from other parts. Men flocked in from not only the neighbouring colonies, but from the United Kingdom, from the Continental States of Europe, from America, and even from heathen China. Such was the rush that one week ten thousand landed at Melbourne. Accordingly, we find that the 77,345 of last year had risen to 97,489 in the first year of this period, 168,321 the year following (1852), to 222,436 in 1853, and to 312, 307 in the last year of this period (1854). In 1852 it was estimated that there were 15,000 miners at work at Mt. Alexander, an equal number at Bendigo, 10,000 at Ballaarat, 3,000 at the Ovens, and 1,500 apiece at Daisy Hill (Amherst), and Korong. Victoria had already outstripped New South Wales in population, the latter having only 295,000 in 1857.

(*b*) GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

On the 16th July 1851 Mr. Latrobe was sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor. He at once appointed Captain Lonsdale, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Ebden, Auditor-General; Mr. (Sir) W. F. Stawell, Attorney-General; and Mr. (Sir) Redmond Barry, Solicitor-General. Among the twenty elected

members of the Legislative Council—ten others were nominated by the Governor—we find Fawkner for Talbot, &c., and James Henty (1853) for Portland. The Council first met on 11th November, and Dr. (Sir) James Palmer was chosen speaker. There was at once a collision between the Council and Government, the latter holding that the revenue and management of the gold fields were under the control of the Crown Lands Department, of which it assumed to have the sole control. This contest was ended the following year (September) by a dispatch from England placing the gold revenue and the land fund at the disposal of the Colonial Legislatures.

Government lost no time in establishing a Gold Commission to protect the rights of the Crown, to maintain law and order on the gold fields, to control the varied elements of vice and discord thrown together, and to bring the widely-scattered operations of the various gold fields under one legitimate authority. A Chief Commissioner was appointed, with an assistant, at the head office in Melbourne, and under this office the Commissioners of the various gold fields were placed. These Commissioners were divided into three classes: the Resident Commissioner, the Commissioner, and the Assistant Commissioner. Their duties were magisterial, the issuing of licenses, the settlement of disputed claims, the charge of the gold office, and the charge of an out-station.

The Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner in charge of a station or an out-station was at the head of the camp or camps in that district, was responsible for the collection, safeguard, and transmission of all the money and gold accumulated from day to day, and for the constant maintenance of good order on the camp, and every part of the gold fields of his district, and was expected to exercise an unwearied vigilance over crime, in all its lurking places, in gully or bush.

The Commissioners in charge of the gold office received the gold bags or money parcels from the miners; weighed, labelled, and registered the same; and gave the miners corresponding receipts, by means of which they could obtain their gold or money from the Treasury in Melbourne, where a branch of the Treasury was specially devoted to this special purpose. The Gold Commissioner packed the gold in saddle-bags for the pack-horses of the escorts to Melbourne or elsewhere and received the escort bags and despatches from Melbourne and elsewhere into his office. He also received all license tax for gold mining, storekeeping, refreshment tents, auctioneers, etc., and issued the same to the Commissioners.

It will thus be seen that the gold fields were placed under

thorough and effectual supervision and government. This supervision, however, had sometimes to be carried out with harshness by the Police, who worked under the Commissioners.

Next year (1852) an Act was passed—"The Convicts Prevention Act"—to meet and check the influx of convicts from the neighbouring colonies to the Victorian Gold Fields. Military pensioners were also brought from Tasmania to act as police on the gold fields. The next year (1853) the transportation of convicts to the Australian Colonies had ceased.

In 1854 Mr. Foster became the Colonial Secretary, and the New Constitution Bill was introduced (5th May). Finally, Mr. Latrobe prorogued the Council, and announced that Sir Charles Hotham had been appointed his successor. Mr. Latrobe left (5th May) after a term of office extending over fifteen years, and Mr. Foster acted as Governor till Sir Charles Hotham's arrival (21st June) the same year.

The "Victorian Convention," as it was called, sat this year. It was composed of the leaders of public opinion, and of delegates from public meetings representing the popular voice in all parts of the colony. Mr. (Sir) George Verdon took a prominent part in it, as well as Mr. Wilson Gray, Mr. Walsh, and Mr. Burtt. Its objects were principally reform of the land laws, and the Constitution Act. The head quarters of the Military were now (1854) transferred from Sydney to Melbourne as the more important and central position. Sir Robert Nickle, in command of the forces, arrived with his staff in August. The presence of the Military was at once utilized for the purpose of gold escorts; and it is calculated that in three years and eight months—after which the Police took up the duty—they had escorted £41,500,000 worth treasure. An Act, too, was passed to raise Volunteer Corps.

The Military, however, were not brought over a day too early, and more serious work was near at hand for them than that of forming treasure-parties and resisting the casual attacks of bush rangers.

There had always been much dissatisfaction among the miners at the heavy license tax, to dig for gold, of 30*s.* per month, and it was now proposed to raise the fee to £3 a month. The inquisitorial powers of the Police, too, were generally roughly exercised. The Gold Commissioners had authority to direct the Police to visit and compel the "diggers" to show their licenses as often as they liked, and this power was either abused or could not, under the circumstances of the confusion usually attending great "rushes," be exercised as suavely as in ordinary times. The miners, too, were not allowed to cultivate their small holdings; and further

had no franchise. They were also a very mixed lot, and foreigners had much influence among them. The feeling of discontent went on gradually gaining strength till the end of the year, when there happened an outburst of popular feeling, ending in armed resistance to authority at Ballarat.

It happened thus:—While the dissatisfaction at the proposed increase of the license tax was at its height, a man named Scobie was foully murdered at the Eureka Hotel kept by a publican of the name of Bentley. Bentley, who was supposed to have been the murderer, got off at the trial; but the miners marked their sense of his crime by burning down his hotel The ringleaders in this deed were apprehended and sentenced; but Bentley was again placed on his trial, and this time was condemned. The diggers regarded the men who had been sentenced for burning down his hotel and who belonged to their body, as 'martyrs,' and freely spoke about bribed administrators. Finally, overwrought with their other grievances, they convened meetings, mustered and drilled their forces, and entrenched a position in their own encamp men called the Eureka Stockade.

Such was the untoward aspect of affairs, when Government determined to send up troops to the scene of these undisguised hostilities. Within an hour of each other, three several detachments of troops of the 40th and the 12th Regiments arrived at Ballaarat on the 20th November.

The insurgents were headed by Peter Lalor, as Chief in Command, Frederick Vern a Hanoverian, Carboni Raffaello an Italian, Alfred Black, and a number of Americans and others.

On December 2nd, at 4 A.M., Captain Thomas, who was in command of the troops, captured the stockade after a brief struggle. In his own words:—"For about ten minutes a heavy fire was kept up by the troops advancing. The entrenchment was then carried and taken by the point of the bayonet." There was short and sharp work: 23 were killed, 12 wounded, and 125 made prisoners. Of the troops only one was killed and 12 were wounded. Captain Wise, who was severely wounded, died in a few days. Of the prisoners only 13 were brought to trial and they were acquitted. Lalor, who lost his right arm, managed to escape; as also Vern and Black.

A Royal Commission was appointed (7th December) to investigate into the causes of the outbreak. On the recommendations of the Commission, the Licence Tax was reduced to a nominal sum and other concessions made. On paying £1 a year miners secured for themselves both mining privileges and the franchise. It may be observed here that the Licence Tax was afterwards (1855) abolished, and a small Export Duty of 1*s.* 6*d.* an *oz.* on gold introduced in its place.

The popular feeling quickly subsided. During 1854 the Patent Law also came into force.

Next year Local Self-Government was introduced by Captain (now General Sir) Andrew Clarke, R.E., who afterwards became the first Surveyor-General of Victoria. Finally, the New Constitutional Act for Responsible Government arrived (16th October, 1855) and was proclaimed on November 23rd. The Constitution was based upon that of the United Kingdom.

Sir Charles Hotham, however, had taken a cold at the inauguration of the first Melbourne Gas Company, and he died three weeks after on the last day of the year.

It has been interesting to follow the course of the Government during this brief period. The Legislative Council, however, did much more work than appears on the surface, and it served its existence and the needs of the period well. The basis of much that is in the present were laid by it. The following summary of its few Sessions furnishes an accurate idea of what was done by it for the colony in general and for Melbourne in particular.

1851.—FIRST SESSIONS.

November 11th.—First meeting of the Legislative Council of Victoria held in St. Patrick's Hall, Bourke St., Dr. Palmer elected speaker.

November 13th.—Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe's first speech. He congratulated the House on the completed independence of the Colony and on its progress, and stated that draft bills on education and on the judicial arrangements of the Colony would be introduced.

November 18th—Message from His Excellency enclosed estimated revenue of 1852 amounting to £175,350-0-0
and estimated expenditure £173,063-18-6

December 2nd.—Message from the Lieutenant-Governor to provide that the public service be not subjected to embarrassment by authorising advance in the rates of pay to subordinate officers.

December 9th.—Petitions on aliens and against introduction of convicts presented.

1852.—SECOND SESSIONS.

June 25th.—Petition presented for the construction of a canal from Hobson's Bay to Melbourne.

July 6th.—Motion carried for having Mounted Police around gold fields.

July 27th.—Act to confirm the use and adoption of a seal to be known as the Seal of the Colony.

July 28th.—Motion carried to offer a reward of £100 to the discoverer of an available coal field within the Colony.

July 30th.—Her Majesty petitioned to sanction the establishment of a branch of the Royal Mint in Victoria.

August 5th.—Governor's salary declared inadequate.

September 14th.—Motion carried for an address to Her Majesty praying that Victoria be constituted the place of residence of the Governor-General of the Australian Colonies.

September 17th.—Petition against Gold Duty Export Bill. Petitions were presented for days subsequently till November 24th when the Bill was thrown out in Committee. [The Scab Prevention Bill often appears in the proceedings.]

December 14th.—Bill for opening up streets in Fitzroy Ward (Collingwood) lost.

1853, *January 6th.*—Petition for establishment of Public Baths. Address praying for grant of £20,000 for erection of University buildings.

January 19th.—Address to His Excellency to place £42,000 at the disposal of the Corporation to drain the swamps in the vicinity of the city and improve its sanitary condition.

January 20th.—Guarantees proposed to be offered for the Melbourne and Geelong Railway and the Melbourne, Mt. Alexander, and Murray River Railway.

January 21st.—University of Melbourne Endowment Bill passed.

January 25th.—Motion carried for the establishment of a Museum of Geology. £450,000 to be advanced to the Corporation for sewerage, water supply, and cleansing the city of Melbourne.

February 1st.—Question asked respecting the large importation of Chinamen: promised to be taken into consideration if the Colony be likely to suffer.

February 3rd.—His Excellency and Council to declare the maximum Punt Fares.

February 4th.—Resolution to be transmitted to Her Majesty expressing a strong feeling against transportation to Australian Colony.

February 7th.—The two Railway Bills passed.

THIRD SESSIONS.

August 31st.—A message announced the resolution of Her Majesty's Government to put an end to transportation to Van Diemen's Land. Mr. Snodgrass, Chairman of Committee.

September 1st.—Consideration of best form of Constitution for the Colony was referred to a Committee, the Colonial Secretary proposing that there should be two chambers, both based on the elective principle.

September 7th.—Petition to confer the franchise on miners.

September 8th.—Petition from Ballaárat for redress of grievances.

September 13th.—Mining Act Amendment Bill passed.

September 16th.—Message on the extension of the Money Order system to the Colony. Gipps Land to be surveyed and large tracts of land promised to be brought into the market.

23rd.—Motion carried for a Museum of National History.

27th.—Petitions from Heidelberg and its vicinity for a semi-weekly post.

28th.—Bills prayed for to incorporate the St. Kilda Pier or Jetty Company, Melbourne and Brighton Railway Company, and North Melbourne Railway Company.

A question strongly discussed on the Duke of Newcastle's despatch—whether Downing St. or the representatives of the people were to rule the country.

October 5th.—The above Bills introduced. Third reading of the Convict's Prevention Bill carried.

October 12th.—The Committee on Steam Communition with England reported that £5,000 per mensem should be paid to any and every Company which shall engage to carry for a whole year, a regular monthly mail from England to Melbourne within sixty-five days for the first six months and sixty days for the last six months, to be paid only for those months in which the voyage is performed within the time specified.

November 10th.—Petition from Baptist Church against State Grants for religious purposes. Resolution that expenditure beyond amount appropriated is unconstitutional.

November 11th.—£50,000 wanted for improvement of Fitzroy Ward.

November 16th.—£20,000 required for temporary residence of Governor of Victoria.

December 21st.—Motion carried for £200 to be placed on the estimates for a Queen's Plate, to be run for as the Melbourne Annual Races. Petitions had been sent in from Dunlop and Peters for reward for discovery of gold fields.

MATERIAL PROGRESS AND WEALTH.

The great gold discoveries formed the principal factor in the progress and wealth of this period, and served almost to set aside agricultural and pastoral operations for a time. The Gold Discovery Committee had offered rewards, but the precious metal had been found before, and the fact communicated to Government which, however, for its own reasons, had kept it a profound secret. The progress of these discoveries, as they took place, were afterwards fully brought

out by the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the claims for the Discovery of Gold in Victoria. Its Report is dated the 10th March 1854, and in it they say (we summarise their lengthy paper) :—

"In the month of March 1850 the honorary member for the Loddon, Mr W. Campbell, discovered on the station of Mr. Donald Cameron, of Clunes, in company with that gentleman, his superintendent, and a friend, several minute pieces of native gold in quartz. This was concealed at the time from an apprehension that the announcement would prove injurious to Mr. Cameron's run. On the 10th June 1851, however, Mr. Campbell wrote that he had procured specimens of gold 'on an adjacent station.' On the 5th July a party formed by Mr. Louis John Michel showed gold in the quartz rocks of the Yarra Ranges at Anderson's Creek to Dr. Webb Richmond on behalf of the Gold Discovery Committee. On the same day, July 5th, Mr. James Esmonds showed gold obtained in the quartz rocks of the Pyrenees, near Mr. Donald Cameron's station, and worked subsequently there, since called the "Clunes" diggings. Dr. George H. Bruhn exploring the mineral resources of the Colony on arriving at Mr. Cameron's station, was shown by that gentleman specimens of gold at what are now called the "Clunes" diggings, and subsequently forwarded specimens to the Gold Discovery Committee on 30th June 1851. In the meantime Mr. Thomas Hiscock, a resident at Buninyong, kept a look out and discovered an auriferous deposit in the gully of the Buninyong Ranges. This attracted great numbers of diggers to the neighbourhood, and led to the discovery of the golden point at Ballaarat. During the first days of September Mr. Brown and his party were looking on one side, and Messrs. Regan and Dunlop on the other side of the range forming the Golden Point."

The story of a shepherd finding gold in 1848-49 is not included in this Report. Licences to dig for gold were issued on the 1st September, and about 300 persons were at work when Ballaarat was discovered. We have noted before that many thousands of miners were at work on the various gold fields the following year (1852). Mr. Latrobe personally went to see and inspect the various gold fields. Messrs. Michel, Hiscock, Campbell and Esmonds got voted rewards of £1,000 each, and Dr. Bruhn £500. Mr. Donald Cameron after a while parted with his run for a comparatively small sum. After a lapse of half a century a hundred gold-mining companies are at work there, and gold of the value of nearly ten millions sterling has been raised from beneath where his sheep cropped the herbage and he first saw the sparkle of native gold.

The first gold escort from Bendigo brought nearly 30,000 *oz.* of gold to Melbourne. The total amount of gold raised during this period (1851 to end of 1854) amounted to 8,425,702 *oz.*, valued at £33,702,828. To show how common money was then a Warden and Police Magistrate wrote (1852-53):—"Diggers sometimes pursued me on my way back to Melbourne when I was in charge of the gold-escort, begging me to thrust £200 in notes into my pistol-holsters, and £500 into my riding boots. But on one occasion a bundle of notes to the amount of £1,000 was sent to me laid flat and tied up in a thin piece of brown paper; and as it came in company with some saddlery, the four edges of each note were ground off, so that the bundle of notes presented the appearance of an oval block of dirty paper. The diggers' gold-bags were emptied out in the gold-brokers' shops so carelessly that the sweepings and dust of the floor of the shop on Saturday night were, in some shops, worth £12 every week. On one occasion, in a certain gold-broker's place, the value of the shop-sweepings for the week amounted to £20. Hired carriages were let out by the hour at from 2 to 3 guineas and sometimes at 5 guineas an hour. Plasterers and masons in those days got £2 a day, carpenters 30*s.* a day, and even common labourers £1 a day. House-rent rose during the latter part of 1852 and 1853 from £150 a year to £900! Hence arose a New Melbourne and the splendid suburbs of St. Kilda, etc. Hay was selling at £70 a ton! Cabbages sometimes changed hands at about 5*s.* each or £3 a dozen."

Cultivation, as we have mentioned before, was neglected, and accordingly from 57,472 acres in 1851, of which 29,624 acres were under wheat. it declined to 36,771 acres in the year following, and still further to 34,816 acres, of whichonly 7,554 acres were under wheat in 1853. A rebound was perceptible the next year, when farmers who had left for "the diggings" found they had made a mistake and returned to their old and surer occupation, and the land under cultivation was 54,905 acres. From this time, as will be seen under the next period, cultivation has steadily increased year after year.

In 1853-54, too, tobacco began first to be regularly cultivated, fitful efforts had been made before, and there was a return of 85 cwts. from 11½ acres. There was also, as might have been expected, a decrease in sheep during this period, the number in 1851 being 6,589,923, and in 1854 5 332,007. But horses increased from 22,086 in 1851 to 27,038 in 1854; cattle from 390 923 in 1851 to 481,640 in 1854; and pigs from 7,372 in 1851 to 9,278 in 1854. The number of vessels inwards in the four years was 7,559 of a total of 2,053,719 tons, and of outwards was 7,008, with a total of

1,925,005 tons. The value of imports rose from £1 056,437 in 1851 to £17,659,051 in 1854, and of exports from £1,422,909 in 1851 to £11,775,204 in 1854. The quantity of wool exported in 1854 was 22,998 400lbs. of the value of £1,618,114. The amounts spent on Public Works during this period were on Roads and Bridges £1,086,137, on the Yan Yean Water Supply Scheme for Melbourne £367,356, and on other Public Works £978,230, or a total of £2,431 723. The number of Flour Mills rose from 27 in 1851 to 40 in 1854, and of Manufactories, etc., from 56 in 1851 to 152 in 1854. The number of Banks in the country was six, with a total paid-up capital of £3,367,560; and assets of £10,536,528.

In 1852 the Railway was opened from Sandridge to Melbourne; and the line to Geelong was commenced. This line was opened also within this period in 1854. There was as yet no Public Debt.

OTHER LINES AND INFLUENCES.

Social.—The great Gold Discoveries had the effect of disorganising society at first. Coachmen, grooms, lawyers, clerks, and even official men, including the very police, were off to "the diggings." Melbourne is described as being at that time "a sort of fevered, drunken, delirious Pandemonium." There were burglaries, 'stickings-up,' and shootings in every direction. Men had to go about armed at night. Throughout the colony "crimes of the most fearful character abounded; the roads swarmed with bushrangers, the streets with desperadoes of every kind." Ultimately, by a levelling process, the Gold Discoveries resulted in greater social freedom and equality.

Works, etc.—In 1851 the Yan Yean Water Supply Scheme by which pure water is brought into Melbourne from a distance of nineteen miles was surveyed, and the first sod was turned in December 1853 by Mr. Latrobe.

The first telegraphic message was sent from Melbourne to Williamstown in 1854

Educational, etc.—In 1853 the Melbourne University was incorporated, and the foundation stone laid the year following July 3rd, 1854. It owes its existence to Sir Redmond Barry who was afterwards its first Chancellor. On the same day the foundation stone also of the Public Library was laid. Subsequently as will be seen in the next period, additions were made to it of a picture gallery, etc. In the year 1854, too, the Melbourne Observatory was established. The Victorian Institute and the Philosophical Society, the former owing its origin to Mr. W. Sydney Gibbons, and the latter to Captain A. Clarke, R.E., also came into existence at this time. Both afterwards merged into the present Royal

Society of Victoria. The first Exhibition of Arts and Industry was held in the same year 1854 and there were 428 exhibitors. The number of schools in the colony had increased from 129 with 7,060 sholars in 1851 to 391 with 20,107 scholars in 1854.

The Church, etc.—Churches increased from 39 in 1851 to 187 in 1854.

The Press.—This too had multiplied and kept pace with the growth of the colony.

This very brief period was most important in its bearings on the future It was the seed time of the next period. Whether in the increase of material wealth and population, or in the hardening and mixture of races, we see laid in it the foundations of future greatness.

THIRD PERIOD.

1855-1884.

VICTORIA UNDER A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

We now enter on the third and last period into which we have divided the history of the evolution of Victoria—that of her greatest progress. Her infancy and childhood are over, and she now enters on the vigor of her youth. We shall see now the free, full, and vigorous life of a young colony, well started, under its own constitutional and representative government While the small early beginnings of things which have detained our attention while they interested us, when viewing them in the preceding periods are now wanting, we shall see here the larger and broader measures which betoken the movements of a nascent and higher national life.

SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION.

During the earlier portion of this period (1859) Messrs. Burke and Wills were started to carry out the exploration of Australia. The funds were supplied by a collection made by Melbourne citizens and a subsidy from Parliament. The story of the exploits and heroism of these brave explorers ending in their death, does not come within our limits. The total cost of their (and subsidiary) expeditions was £57,000. Vast extents of fertile country, even to the extreme north of Queensland, were discovered by them, and settlement early followed in their wake Their remains were brought back by Howitt from Cooper's Creek, and were accorded a public funeral (January 20th, 1863. A noble monument erected to them graces the finest site in Collin's Street. A couple years after again (1865) the ladies of Victoria started McIntyre in search of Leichhardt.

We have seen before that the population of Victoria in 1854 was 512,307 and exceeded the population of *N. S. W.* proper.

From that time forward Victoria kept the lead in population among the Australian Colonies till almost the other day. The country has been settled in every direction, in some parts more than in others; but there is room for several millions yet. The following is a glance at the regular growth of the population at stated intervals during this period:—

1855—364,324; 1865—621,695; 1875—791,399; 1884, June 30th—945,703. Of the last total 501,569 are males and 444,134 are females. The estimated total at the end of 1884 is 965,000.

Government and Politics.

Sir Charles Hotham died on the last day of 1855 after having proclaimed the new Constitution Act. The next year began with Major-General Edward Macarthur as Acting Governor, and it was under him that the first Parliament under the new Constitution with Mr. Haines as Premier opened (November 21st, 1856). The Ministry was composed of, besides Mr. Haines as Chief Secretary, the following:—

(Sir) W. F. Stawell, Attorney-General; (Rt. Hon.) H. C. E. Childers Commissioner of Trade and Customs; (Sir) Charles Sladen, Treasurer; Captain Chas. Pasley, R. E, Commissioner of Public Works; Captain (General Sir) A. Clarke, R. E., Surveyor-General; and Robert Molesworth, Solicitor-General. (Sir James Palmer was elected speaker of the Assembly, and (Sir) W. F. Mitchell, President of the Council Among the Members of the Upper House we find again Fawkner sitting for the Central Province, and J. Henty for the South-Western Province. We find also Stephen George Henty sitting for the Western Province. In the Lower House we find Archibald Michie and W. F. Stawell sitting for Melbourne, Fred. James Sargood for St. Kilda, Charles Sladen for Geelong, Hugh Culling Eardley Childers for Portland. Peter Lalor for North Grenville, Edward Henty for Normanby, and Charles Gavan Duffy for Villiers and Heytesbury. It is remarkable that after a period of nearly thirty years most of these were still living, and had attained to the highest positions of honour and usefulness either in Victoria or in England.

Sir Henry Barkley arrived and assumed the reins of Government on the 26th December 1856. Since then, in all, during this period, there have been six Governors with others acting on occasions, twelve Parliaments, the average of existence for each being two years and one month; and twenty-two ministries. For this extended period of nearly thirty years of the history of Victoria, with an active and free political life, we can cast only a brief glance at the most important public measures.

Sir Henry Barkley remained till September 10th, 1863.

During this term the first Parliament passed the vote by Ballot Act, and the Manhood Suffrage Act. The second Parliament met on the 13th October 1859 as elected under the provisions of this Act. Under this Parliament arrangements were made with the P. and O. Company for carrying the mails, and the Department of Mines was established. Further facilities were also afforded to miners regarding leases and licenses. In 1860 a Conference of representatives of the different Colonies was held in Melbourne for united action in the matter of vital statistics. Finally, the third Parliament passed the Duffy Land Act of 1862 to continue till 1870. This Act gave increased facilities for settlement. One hundred and fifty areas of from 20,000 to 30,000 acres each of prime arable unsold land were surveyed, mapped, and opened for selection within three months of the passing of the Act. The most part of the Gippsland farmers came into existence under this Act.

On 11th September 1863 Sir Charles Darling was sworn in; but ended a brief term by being recalled owing to the following circumstances. The Premier, Mr. McCulloch, aided by Mr. (afterwards Judge) Higginbotham, the Attorney-General, brought forward a Protective Policy for the colony. The first Bill merely imposed certain duties. The Bill was rejected by the Council and the Ministry accordingly dissolved. They were, however, sent back to the house stronger than before. The same Bill accordingly was sent up again, and was again rejected. On Mr. Higginbotham's advice the Bill was now "tacked" to the Appropriation Bill, and thus sent up again to the Council. The Council, however, determined not to be beaten, rejected the Appropriation Bill with the "tack." Supplies were thus stopped, and the public services were thrown into confusion. Mr. Higgingbotham, fruitful in novel expedients, now counselled that the Governo. should be sued and then confess judgment on behalf of the Queen, when the moneys would have to be paid without regard to the Appropriation Bill. The absurdity of such a course may be conceived by applying it to the Queen herself in a similar case in England. The power of the purse is really not in the hands of the Queen, or at her disposal, and her own funds are allowed her by the country. Sir Charles Darling agreed to the course proposed by Mr. Higginbotham. The Council then wrote to the Secretary of State and protested against the action of the Governor. Sir Charles thereon in reply made some severe reflections on certain members of the Council, and his conduct being deemed unconstitutional by the Home Government he was recalled and retired from office on 7th May 1866 leaving the dispute unsettled. Brigadier-General Geo. Carey, C. B, acted as Governor for the few months after Sir Charles Darling's departure till the arrival of

his successor. Shorly after, however, some concessions were made on both sides in the colony, the "tack" was taken off the Appropriation Bill, and the Tariff Bill was sent up to the Council as a separate measure. Both the Bills were then passed. Thus ended the memorable *Deadlock* as it was called which had led to so much bad feeling, the recall of a Governor, and the throwing into temporary confusion the public services. It was the death struggle of the free trade party. The colony since then became decidedly Protectionsist. Another contest soon came on with the Upper House caused by the McCulloch Ministry voting £20,000 to Sir Charles Darling, in which the same tactics as before were pursued on both sides. Sir Charles, however, died while the contest was going on, and the matter was ended by Lady Darling being granted an annuity of £1,000.

Sir Henry Manners Sutton, afterwards Viscount Canterbury, assumed office on the 15th August 1866, and continued till the 2nd March 1873. The "*Deadlock*" referred to above was ended under him in 1868, and in a great measure by his wise counsels and guidance. The next year (1869) the Payment of Members and the State Aid Abolition Bills were passed. The Victorian Land Act was also introduced and came into operation on 1st February following (1870). An Amendment simplifying settlement was also made the same year on the Act by the Hon'ble J. T. Casey. Still further, the question of *The Federation of the Colonies* was now prominently discussed in Parliament. The troops were now recalled home, General Chute leaving on 15th October.

An *Inter-Colonial Conference* was also held in which the following subjects were considered:—Customs union; assimilation of tariffs; uniform colonial postage; mail contracts; and telegraphic communication.

In 1872 the Education Act, 36 Vic., No. 447, was passed. This Act was subsequently amended by the Education Act Amendment Act, 40 Vic., No. 541, by which education became free, secular, and compulsory. Magnificent school buildings now are spread over every part of the colony.

Although not political, yet as tending to foster a spirit of loyalty the two visits in 1867 and 1870 of H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh may be included here. During his brief stay on each occasion he was very popular, and on his first visit laid the foundation of the new Town Hall to cost upwards of £100,000,—and on his second visit opened the Alfred Hospital. A large sum of money was voted by the colony for his expenses. Towards the close of the period during the Marquis of Normanby's term of office, the two sons of the Prince of Wales also visited Victoria, and were loyally and enthusiastically received.

John Pascoe Fawkner, who had founded Melbourne and witnessed its rapid and marvellous growth, died in 1869.

After the departure of Viscount Canterbury Sir William Foster Stawell acted as Governor till the arrival of Sir George Bowen on the 31st March 1873. His term continued only till the 22nd February 1879. Mr. Graham Berry being Premier, there was much acrimonious dispute between the two Houses on a question of reform in the Council, which ended in the wholesale dismissals of numerous public officers on "Black Wednesday," as it was called under the pretence of there being no money to pay them with. In this dispute Sir George Bowen made himself conspicuous by his siding with Mr. Berry. This, with his being a party to sending Mr. Berry in a quasi-ambassadorial capacity to England, filled up the measure of his unfitness for office, and he was removed by the Home Government.

The Marquis of Normanby succeeded him, and assumed the reins of Government on the 27th February 1879. Berry soon found that he could not lead the new Governor by the nose as he had led the last. He was defeated by Service at the general elections of 1880; but resuming his position the same year, was allowed to pass (1881) his Reform of Council Bill in a very different shape to that in which he had introduced it.

By this Bill the colony was divided into fourteen provinces for the election of Members of Council. Three members were allowed to each, with a term of office of six years. An estate in lands and tenements of the annual value of £100 clear of all charge qualifies a member. An elector's qualification was a freehold worth £10 per annum, or occupation of land in any municipal district of any one of the provinces rated at £25 per cent The election of the new members took place in 1882 The Legislative Assembly, if it may be noted here, consists of 86 members returned in 55 electorates There is no property qualification for members or voters. Everyone, twenty-one years of age, untainted by crime, is entitled to a vote. The Members of the Assembly are paid £300 per annum each.

Berry had, however, incurred so much odium that he was again defeated on 1st July 1881 by Sir Bryan O'Loghlen, who thereupon became the leader of an administration which, as it was a moderate one, was hailed as a relief by all parties. Happening, however, to come under the influence of the Romish Hierarchy and their political plans, he had to give way to Mr. James Service on 8th March 1883. Mr. Service distinguished his latest term of office, by introducing afresh the question of *Federation*, and by moving in the annexation of New Guinea and other islands in the Pacific. At the Great Banquet at Albury (18th June 1883) given by the two colonies, Victoria and N. S. W., to celebrate the opening

of through railway communication between Melbourne and Sydney, and at which the Governor and leading Ministers of the two colonies were present.* Mr. Service introduced the subject of *Federation* in a noble speech, declared its feasibility, and threw the *onus* of rejecting it on New South Wales. An *Australian Conference* of all the colonies in order to take initiatory steps was shortly afterwards (November) held in Sydney, and a common basis of future proceeding was adopted.

Federative Bills were to be passed by each colony before the Union could take place and a Great Australian Commonwealth established. In the matters of French Criminals and New Guinea, Mr. Service also did excellent work. He carried his point, which was that of Australia, in both. The first difficulty was reduced by the French Government; it has dwindled down to nothing of moment. The Commodore of H. M.'s Australian station was directed by wire by the Home Government to declare the southern portion of New Guinea under a British Protectorate, the colonies unitedly defraying £15,000 per annum of the cost of such Protectorate. Mr. Service, however, further wished to see other islands in the Pacific also annexed. But this was an even larger question than that of New Guinea, for Germans, French, and Americans claimed in the Pacific portions which claims could not be entirely overlooked, and whereas a shadow of a claim was actually set up in behalf of the natives. Parties and factions were strong under the Marquis of Normanby's rule, but his great prudence, experience and practical wisdom enabled him to steer the vessel of State in peace and honor to himsef to the end of his term, and he left on 18th April 1884. His Excellency Sir Henry Brougham Loch, K.C.B., arrived and was sworn in on 15th July following, the Chief Justice, Sir W. Stawell, acting in interval. Sir Henry Loch's public utterances and acts gave universal satisfaction. The salary of the Governor of Victoria was increased to £10,000 per annum and was the highest of any in the Australian colonies for a time.

(*c*) Material Progress and Wealth.

The progress of wealth and industry in this period has been astonishing. No tale is so eloquent or conclusive here as that told by figures.

Pastoral.—The period began (1855) with 33,430 horses; at the end of 1883 there were 286,779. In 1855 there were 534,113 cattle; at the end of 1883 their numbers stood at 1,297,546. In 1855 there were 4,577,872 sheep; at the end of 1883 they had reached 10,739,021. In 1855 pigs numbered

* We were present at this banquet.

20,686; in 1883 they had increased to 233,525. In all, live stocks increased from 5,166 101 in 1835 to 12,556,871 in 1883. The total number of persons included under the head of pastoral occupations according to the census returns of 1881 was 9,327. During this period, too, Augora and Cashmere goats, and ostriches, were imported and acclimatised.

Agricultural.—In 1855 the total area under cultivation was 115,135 acres; at the end of 1883 it was 2,215,923 acres. Of this total 1,104,392 acres were under wheat, their produce in weight being 15,570,245 bshls., valued at (3-8 per bshl.) £2,854,545. Under oats 188,161 acres, produce 4,717,624 bshls., value (2-8 per bshl.) £629,017. Under barley 46,832 acres, produce 1,069,803 bshls., value (3-6 per bshl.) £187,216. Under maize 2,570 acres produce 117,294 bshls, value (4-8 per bshl.) £27,369. Under peas, &c., 30,443 acres, produce 791,093 bshls, value (3-2 per bshl.) £125,256. Under potatoes 40,195 acres, produce 161,038 tons, value (£3-14-8 per ton) £601,395. Under mangold wurzel 1,056 acres, produce 18,906 tons, value (£1-9-5 per ton) £27,808. Under onion 1,235 acres, produce 6,977 tons, value (£7-10 per ton) £52,328. Under hay 302.957 acres, produce 433,143 tons, value (£3-10 per ton) £1,516,000. Under green forage 4,963 acres, produce value (£12 per acre) £59,555. Under tobacco 1.325 acres, produce 9,124 cwt., value (10*d.* per lb.) £42,579. Under vines 7,326 acres, produce of grapes, 129,327 cwt., total wine made 723,560 gallons, value (2*s.* per gallon) £72,356, and brandy 2,646 gallons, value (6*s.* per gallon) £794. The area of land lying fallow at the end of 1883 was 174,607 acres. The gardens and orchards covered another total of 20,754 acres The total number of persons entered under agricultural pursuits in the census returns was 113,253.

Mining.—The quantity of gold raised during the previous period as we saw had been 8,425,702 oz, valued at £33,702,828. The total quantity raised from the beginning to the end of 1883, including the preceding period was 52,214,150 oz., valued at £208,856,600 This is an average of more than £3,330,000 a year. The estimated total yield of gold to the end of 1884 was £212,000,000. The largest lump of gold called the "Welcome Stranger Nugget" yet found in Victoria weighing 2,28c oz., was discovered at the Moliagul diggings during this period (1869). The total area of auriferous country is 25,000 square miles, of which only a twentieth part had as yet been worked. Deep mining, which yielded steady results, was yet to go forward. At Stawell a shaft had gone more than 2,000 feet below the surface. Besides gold there are other metals as silver, tin, copper, antimony, lead, etc., mined for

The total number of the population entered as engaged in mining at the end of 1883 was 31,621.

Manufactures.—The greatest possible progress was made here. The Protective Tariff passed under the McCullock Ministry had the effect of so stimulating manufacturing enterprise that from only 152 manufactories at the end of the preceding period (in 1854) at the end of 1883 they had increased to 2,779, excluding 131 stone workings and quarries. The number of mining machines, not included in these, was 4,149 for 1882. The following figures show the increase at stated periods :—

1860	474
1870	1,529
1880	2,239
1883	2,779

The factories of Victoria turned out work as locomotives, railway carriages, or iron work in general which challenged comparison with those imported from Great Britain, Belgium, and America. In iron work contracts were undertaken even for India and China and all the other Australian Colonies. The locomotives turned out by the Phœnix Foundry Company at Ballaarat were even then known all over Australia for excellence and durability. The total number of the population engaged in manufacturing operations in 1883 was 39,926. The following details are also for the same year :—

				Wheat.	Other.
Flour Mills in	No. 140	operated on	...	7,850,506 bshls.	337,830
Breweries „	„ 70	beer made	...	13,729,371 galls.	
Brick & Potteries	„ 198	bricks made		96,097,000	
Tanneries, Fellmongeries		No. of hides tanned		384,333	
		„ skins „		1,433,096	
		„ sheep skins stripped	...	4,913,055	
		wool obtained from skins	...	3,725,286 lbs.	
		wool washed only		7,191,664 „	
Woollen Mills	„ 7	cloth manufactured		830,604 yds.	
		blankets	...	2 531 prs.	
		shawls	...	259	
Soap and Candle Works	„ 29	soap made	...	148,235 cwt.	
		candles made	...	38,530 „	
Tobacco, Cigar, &c.	„ 13	tobacco	...	1,279 671 lbs.	
		cigars No.	...	7,196,200	
		snuff	...	1,323 lbs.	
Books, printing, &c.	„ 131				
Tools, instruments, &c.	„ 144				
Dress, shoes, &c.	„ 239				
Saw Mills, joinery, &c.	„ 231				
Stone quarries, &c.	„ 131	stone operated on	...	463,175 c. yds.	

Victoria stood as the leading manufacturing country in the southern hemisphere.

Trade, shipping, etc —The imports in 1883 amounted in value to £17,743,846, and exports to £16,398,863. The number of vessels inwards 2,023 of 1,464,752 total tonnage, and outwards 2,064 of 1,499,579 total tonnage. There were (1882) twelve Banks of issue with a total paid-up capital of £9,432,250, and assets of £31,248,586 The Savings Banks for the same year were 222, with 122,584 depositors, and balances amounting to £3,121,246.

Revenue, expenditure, etc.—The total public revenue in 1883 was £5,611,253; being £679,933 from land, £1,769,004 customs, £439,645 other taxation, £1,838,284 railways, £132,915 other public works, and £751,472 miscellaneous receipts. The total public expenditure was £5,651,885; being on railways £1,173,535, other public works £636,611, public instruction, etc., £598,970, medical and charitable £267,400, and miscellaneous services £2,975,369.

The total public debt was £24,308,175.

The number of miles open of railways was 1,562, at a total cost of £21,106,373. There were besides, 133 miles railways in course of construction; and during 1884 the construction of nearly one thousand more miles was placed before the House. Victoria had the largest number of miles of railway open not only relatively for her size, but absolutely, of any Australian Colony. Settlement and population,—trade, industry and wealth all follow in the wake of the "iron horse." Melbourne was united to Geelong as early as 1857. The Melbourne and Williamstown railway was opened in 1859. The line to Echuca was opened in 1864, and then was pushed forward by private enterprise as far as Deniliquin in *N. S. W.* Lines now intersected the country in every direction. Though begun, as we saw under the preceding period, by private enterprise, railways now formed a state department.

The value of rateable property in Melbourne was (1883) £10,321,620, with a revenue of £135,102. The value of such property in all cities, towns, etc, was £37,355,371, with a revenue of £486,328; and the value of all such property in shires was £58,255,588, with a revenue of £600,173.

The military and naval forces, too, as the safeguards of wealth, may be included here. The land forces comprised Artillery, Engineer, Torpedo and Rifle Corps, both regulars and volunteers, and had an actual total (1882-1883) of 2,948, with an establishment total when complete of 3,914; besides 87 staff, etc, unattached. The troops were armed with the Martini-Henri Rifle. The total number of males of soldiering age (20—40 years) in the colony in 1881 was 114,142.

The Navy consisted of seven war-vessels iron-clad turret-ship, gun-boats, etc., *viz.*, the *Cerberus*, *Nelson*, *Victoria*, *Albert*, *Childers*, *Nepean*, and *Lonsdale*. The total cost of the land and sea forces was about £100,000 per annum. The total military and naval expenditure since 1854 had been nearly £3,000,000.

OTHER LINES AND INFLUENCES.

Social.—During the early part of this period the disturbing influences at work on the original Gold Discoveries still continued. Settlers had left their homesteads, merchants their desks, professional men their offices, tradesmen their shops, sailors their ships, all in the search for gold. The entire population had been smitten with the gold mania—*auri sacra fames!* The delirium, however, gradually passed away, and within a few years of this time things began again to run in regular and settled grooves. We have already noted the visits paid by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh. These with the presence of other subsequent distinguished visitors such as their Royal Highnesses the sons of the Prince of Wales, with the high tone maintained in Government House, and the large class of the very wealthy led by Sir W. J. Clarke, and the increase of intercourse with Europe, and of high education and culture, served to give a tone to society which made it as respectable here as in any other country.

Exhibitions.—We have noticed the first rudimentary Exhibition under the preceding period. It was followed in 1860 by a second Exhibition in which there were 703 exhibitors. It was open for only ten weeks. The receipts amounted to £3,400, and the number of persons admitted to 67,405.

In 1866 followed the 3rd Victorian Exhibition which proved a greater success. The area of exhibit space was 56,240 feet or nearly thrice that of the previous Exhibition. It was open for 105 days during which the receipts were £9,634, and the number of admissions was 268,634. At this Exhibition a gilt pyramid, 62 feet high, represented 36,514,361 oz. of gold valued at £146,057,444, the total of the precious metal extracted from Victorian gold-fields up to that time.

In 1872-73 and in 1875 minor exhibitions were held in connection with the exhibits forwarded from Victoria for the London Exhibition of 1873 and the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1875.

The Great International Exhibition was opened on 1st October 1880 and closed on 30th April 1881. It was the greatest Exhibition that has yet been held in the southern hemisphere. Its best monument is the superb Exhibition Building erected at a cost of £250,000 which graces its noble site in the Carlton Gardens. The attendance was 1,309,496.

Finally, the Victorian Jubilee Exhibition to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the colony opened in November 1884 in the same Great Exhibition Building. The promoter, however, was a private individual, who failed in coming up to expectation, though the exhibition was patronised

Education.—The number of schools with which this period opened (1855) was 438, with a total of 24,478 scholars, and there were 16 students matriculated at the University (its first year). In 1882-83 there were 1,750 public schools with 222,428 scholars and private 670 with 35,773 scholars, in all 2,420 schools 25,820 scholars enrolled; while the matriculated students of the University numbered 135, and there were 73 graduates. The schools of design during 1883 were 33 with 2,806 pupils; schools of mines 2 with 850 enrolled, and other High Schools and Colleges 6, with 959 pupils. The University had faculties in Medicine and Law, as well as in Arts; and its reputation stood second to none. Among the educational institutions should also be included the great Public Library in Melbourne, and the Mechanics' Institutes scattered all over the country. The former was opened by Acting Governor-General MacArthur in 1857 since when additions have been made to it of a Picture Gallery, School of Design and an Industrial Museum and was visited by more than a quarter of a million during the year—the building is one of the noblest in the city; and the latter a Mechanics' Institute, which number 250, had an attendance in 1883 of nearly 2,000,000.

The Press.—The Newspaper Press of Victoria could even then challenge comparison with that of any other country in the world, headed by the great Melbourne Dailies. *The Age*, with its weekly edition of the *Leader*, the *Telegraph* with its *Weekly Times*, the *Argus* with its weekly *Australian*, the evening *World* with its magnificent weekly the *Federal Australian*, and the *Evening Herald*,—there were upwards of a hundred and fifty others in the country districts. A Book Press, too, arose and publishers were constantly issuing a variety of works, among the principal of which may be specified those by George Robertson and Co., Cameron Laing and Co., and others. The Messrs. Geo. Robertson, and Cameron and Laing issue works not only of a high class (as well as light literature), but in the most superior style of mechanical execution and finish. There were 490 copyrights of works, etc., taken out in 1883. The process of photo lithography was discovered in Melbourne by Mr. Osborne in 1860. He was rewarded by Government with £1,000. The art was of great value in multiplying maps, etc.

Entertainments.—Several Theatres and Opera houses were established institutions in Melbourne, while the interior towns

and cities were visited by numerous companies several times during the year. The best artists were brought out from England and America. Miss Catherine Hayes who gave some vocal performances in 1856 realised 1,000 guineas at a guinea a ticket on a single night for the benefit of the Melbourne charities.

The Church, etc.—During this period an additional Church of England Diocese, that of Ballaarat, was formed out of the western districts, and it was proposed in 1884 to erect another for the northern districts with its centre at Sandhurst. The number of churches and chapels in Victoria rose from 187 in the last year of the preceding period 1854 to 3,518 in 1882-83 with seats for over 400,000. There were also 36 Hospitals with accommodation for nearly 10,000 patients.

The history of the evolution of Victoria may end here. We have told it briefly and rapidly. We have seen the colony grow from the two Messrs. Henty to a population a little short of a million of souls; from a few sheep to nearly eleven millions, and horses and cattle in proportion; from the five acres first laid out by Fawkner's party to a cultivation of over two millions of acres; from the first sparkle of gold on Donald Cameron's "run" of Clunes to a total quantity raised of the value of over two hundred and ten millions sterling; from the first small iron foundry established on the banks of the Yarra in 1840 to the immense development of manufacturing enterprise represented by 2,779 manufactories and works; from the one small vessel of the Messrs. Henty representing the "shipping" of 1834 to over four thousand vessels of nearly three millions tons burthen; from the first imports and exports of whale oil and sheep the value of which may have been covered by a few thousand pounds to an import and export trade of over thirty-four millions sterling in one year; from a settlement which the Government refused to recognise to a State with an annual revenue and expenditure of over eleven millions sterling; with lines of railways intersecting the country in every direction, and nearly twenty-five millions sterling laid out on them; with rateable property in cities, towns, boroughs and shires valued at one hundred millions sterling; exporting wheat and breadstuffs, and all kinds of manufactures, etc., as of iron, leather, wood, wool and cloth, and tallow, meats and provisions, bags and sacks, etc.; with Military and Naval Forces numbering 4,000 men and seven war-vessels; moving in questions of Imperial moment and beyond the bounds of Australia; with a great system of free education with numerous literary and other civilising and refining influences and agencies and with a metropolis—*Melbourne*—which is at once an ornament on the face of the globe and the Queen City of the Southern Hemisphere with a population amounting to over

three hundred thousand, and with public parks and buildings which may vie with those of many of the older European capitals. Surely the results have been marvellous as a dream. "The child is father to the man." And if the past has been thus what will the future be? With her enterprise and capital she annexed Fiji, opened up North Queensland, and was still advancing further. And with the "far-reaching hands" of her statesmen she came to share in European counsels. The time had come for a Great Australian Dominion or Commonwealth.

It will have been seen that this Federation of the Australian Colonies was actually mooted in 1870, and that twelve years after Mr. Service took practical steps towards bringing it about. Hence it seems perfectly monstrous for Lord Loch to publicly state that Sir Henry Parkes first made proposals for Federation to him. Lord Loch was not even dreamt of for an Australian Governor when the subject had been for years before the public; and Sir Henry Parkes was himself one of the most determined opponents of the idea, till he could no longer resist the tide. The subject was constantly treated by the *Press*, to whom if any credit is to be given any where it should be awarded, the *Federal Australian* conspicuously leading the way. It was the Evolution of the national life of Australia, and the Press fitly led the way, for the Press in Australia is its very life. It may remain for us to consider what this national life—the Future of Australia—will yet be.

OLD AUSTRALIAN COLONIST.

ART. V.—THE JUDGE.

CICERO says that "men resemble the gods in nothing so much as in doing good to their fellow-creatures." The truth of this saying no human being has better opportunities of proving than the important personage who occupies the judgment seat. Indeed, the man who accepts a judgeship takes upon himself a very serious responsibility. His duty is of the utmost importance to the State, and if it is next to anything, it is only next to that of the Sovereign Ruler. He administers the law which in every good Government is above the king. True it is that in such countries as Russia and Turkey, the king is above law, but it is to be observed that absolute monarchy is the exception, not the rule. In all other forms of Government law is above king, even though it be his own making. Indeed, the judge is the earthly god, as he has to determine with authority between truth and falsehood, right and wrong. Even the king himself is amenable to his orders. Without questioning the doctrine of "A Regle Lex," it may be safely asserted that the position of the king after he has made the law considerably resembles that of the silkworm in his own self-spun cocoon, in this respect differing from the Supreme Ruler in heaven who "is not tied to his own Sacraments, though men are." Henry IV of England, on being informed that Chief Justice Gascoigne had committed the Prince of Wales to prison for contempt of Court expressed great joy at having such a judge who administered justice with impartiality, and such a son who in obedience to the law submitted peaceably to the punishment. Nelson's watchword is nowhere so very appropriate as in the matter of the administration of justice. A judge neglecting his duty is, as a great man has said, guilty, not of butchery but of murder, which is a much higher offence. This language, no doubt, is very strong, but it does not exaggerate the truth. A judge who does deliberate injustice might be called a judicial butcher, but one who neglects to do justice deserves to be called by a more execrable name,—indeed, the designation, judicial murderer,—would hardly be inappropriate in his case. Thus, it appears that wilful neglect of duty is a more heinous offence than deliberate abuse of it.

The duty of the legislator, however, is not to be confounded with that of the judge. Certain it is, there was a time when the two offices were united in the same person; but he could not, when administering law, undo his work as legislator he was bound to administer the law as it stood, and if he thought

that it required amendment or alteration, he could only give expression to his views in his capacity of legislator. But strange as it may seem, the legislator, though the framer of the law, often fails to put a proper construction upon it. In fact the author of a Law or Act, considering more what he privately intended than the meaning he has expressed, is the less qualified to construe it. Thus, the proposition is very true, which lays down that the duty of the judge is to *declare* not to *make*, the law.* He is to determine what the law *is*, not what it *ought to be*. He may well suggest improvements in existing law, if he deems it defective in some respects; but he need not do so, that not forming an essential part of his duty. However, as a matter of fact, improvements in law have for the most part been made through the instrumentality of the judges. Their opinions are in most cases viewed upon with great approbation by the legislative body, and, accordingly, new laws are made or old laws amended in consonance with those opinions. Hence distinction is made between text law and case law. The latter is sometimes an improvement on the former and sometimes an addition to it.

But whatever difficulties there may be in declaring what the law is, there is still greater difficulty in applying it to the particular case before the judge. Thus, one may be a sound lawyer, but if he does not take the trouble to master the facts or lacks the tact and power of doing so, it is almost certain that he will fail to do justice. One who would be a good judge must be a master of fact as well as of law. This happy union in the same individual is anything but common. Lord Chancellor Loughborough was an excellent judge of facts, but was sadly deficient in a knowledge of the common law. A judge who is strong both in law and fact is certainly a remarkable character. Such a judge is not to be found at all times. At any rate, men like him are very rare. Many qualifications are necessary to form such a character. Where all the qualifications are present, the fortunate possessor thereof becomes all but perfect in his sphere of life. But it seldom happens that one and all the qualifications are united in the same person. Human nature being frail, it cannot hope to attain to a state in any matter which is only next to absolute perfection. A perfect, or even a *quasi*-perfect, judge is out of the question. All that one can reasonably hope for is to have a judge who is sufficiently strong in law and fact. And even such a judge must be considered as not quite a common character. Indeed, a judge has so many difficulties to contend

* Or, as Bacon says, the office of a judge is "*jus dicere*" and not *jus dare*;"—to interpret law and not to make law or give law. (Essay on Judicature.)

with that it is only occasionally that his efforts are crowned with success. Unless all circumstances concur, it is impossible for him to achieve success. The qualifications referred to are not few, and this is not to be wondered at, when the great importance of the judicial office is taken into consideration. As is the office, so must the qualifications of the person be who is called upon to exercise the functions thereof. A judge must be learned in the law. This qualification is absolutely necessary from the nature of the thing. But mere legal learning is not sufficient. To prove a good judge learning in other professions is also necessary, though not to the same extent as law-learning. Want of classical education, however, is no bar to a man becoming a great judge. Lord Coke, "the legal Leviathan" as Lord Campbell calls him, was no scholar with all his love for Virgil,* and it is a well-known fact that he made light of Bacon's really great work by saying that it deserved to be "freighted in the ship of Fools." In fact, he was an unscholarly lawyer, and yet who can deny that his reputation as a judge is quite unparallelled. Lord Hardwicke never received a classical education, but that circumstance did not prevent him from becoming a very great judge which he pre-eminently was. As for Lord Kenyon, his scholastic education was very defective and was not at all improved by study. But there is no doubt that he was a good judge, only second to Lord Eldon. Lord Gifford and Lord St. Leonards also were not scholars. As for Lord Somers and Lord Mansfield they are with a few others brilliant exceptions who united the learning in other professions with learning in their own. Speaking of the former, Bishop Burnet says, "He was very learned in his own profession with great deal more learning in other professions, in divinity, philosophy and history." Somers was a poet also, and Addison in dedicating his "Campaign" to him alluded to his "immortal strains." Lord Mansfield resembles Somers in many respects and was like him a poet of no mean order. Pope has lamented

"How sweet and Ovi was in Murray lost!"

The best of native judges, Dwarkanath Mitter, was undoubtedly a learned man; but surely the learning of his illustrious successor, Sir Romeschandra Mitter, was not above average, and yet in judicial ability he was not much inferior to his eminent predecessor. Similar remarks apply to Mr. Chander Madhab Ghose, who, though not a scholar in the proper sense of the term, has the well-earned reputation of being a

* This father of English jurisprudence boasted that in his Institute might be found some three hundred quotations from the poet of the Æneid

good judge. Indeed, in the legal profession, high literary acquirements are not the best means for attaining success; and Sir William Jones, no common authority, in one of his letters to Dr. Parr, said that in the profession of law the reputation of a scholar was a dead weight on a person. What is absolutely necessary is that a judge should know the general principles of law and possess the sense to apply them to the particular case before him. He must also watch the changes in the statute law and read the current reports so as to be able to know how the laws are interpreted and applied by his brother judges. But in any case a judge must be a professional man and thoroughly understand his profession, or, as Daniel O'Connell said, "A judge must be a downright tradesman." To all this must be added a general knowledge of the arts and sciences which have relation to law; and even Coke himself in the preface to his Reports has observed that some knowledge of every science and art is not only useful, but even necessary to a lawyer. But knowledge will not avail unless one takes the trouble to get himself acquainted with the facts. A judge must be pains-taking. Indeed, industry is better than cleverness, and, as Dr. South very well puts it, the "sweat of the brow entitles it to the laurel." If one would be a good artificer, he must not dread "the smoke and tarnish of the furnace." The case of Lord Thurlow, "the law lion" as he was called, is an exception, and if his idleness was remarkable, his ability was more remarkable still.

The advice given by Jethro to Moses in the matter of the appointing of judges does not make learning a necessary qualification for a judge. He said, that judges "should be men of courage and men of truth; fearing God and hating covetousness." This omission in the Jethro's advice was wisely supplied by Lord Bacon in his "advice to Sir George Villiers," where he described ignorance as a stone and obstacle in the way of becoming a good judge. He observed, "an ignorant man cannot, a coward dare not, be a good judge." Some knowledge of the world, as it is called, is also useful and necessary to a judge. Although a judge should not aim at becoming a public character, commonly so called, still he must understand men and manners—the modes in which they live, the influences under which they generally act; the passions to which they are at times subject. Without such knowledge one cannot prove a good judge It is commonly said that judges who are sent direct from England often fail in doing substantial justice in India. This observation is only too true, and the failure which unfortunately happens in some cases is mainly to be attributed to ignorance of native life in the East. Surely there is an immense deal of difference

between eastern and western modes and ideas, so that whoever tries to decide Indian cases involving questions regarding native manners and customs from the standpoint of a European runs the risk of doing injustice. So far as our experience goes, Civilian Judges of the High Court have, as a rule, proved better administrators of justice than Barrister Judges sent out direct from England. Of course there have been exceptions, but they are exceptions of that character which only prove the rule. The case of Sir Barnes Peacock, the first Chief Justice of the Bengal High Court, stands almost unique. He was a genius and did justice between man and man as it were by intuitive knowledge. Even he on some occasions could not get over the influence of western thoughts and ideas. Mr. Sewell White is another exception. Although he was somewhat slow, he was almost always sure. His colleagues had the highest regard for him and even Civilian Judges seldom differred from him in his conclusion of facts. Mr. Charles Pontifex also stands out as an exception. He was a very quick witted judge, and, what appeared very remarkable was that he could understand a case before all the facts were stated. Such judges are not commonly met with, and it is the paucity of such men at the present time which is the main cause of the general complaint as to the unsatisfactory nature of the administration of justice in the highest tribunal in the land.

A judge must also be courageous. This is his first attribute both according to Jethro and Bacon. "Courage," says the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, "is as necessary in a judge as in a general." A coward judge is as much an object of hatred as a coward general. Neither of them can expect to succeed in their respective callings, and if they do succeed at all, it is only by the purest of accidents. When a judicial officer is convinced of the truth of a case, he must declare it without fear or favour, in other words, he must have the courage of his conviction. But this courage should not be confounded with headiness which is not a lesser fault than cowardliness. A coward is too timid to give out his mind; a heady man sticks to his opinion, even when he is convinced to the contrary. They agree in this that, both of them act against their conviction, the difference lying only in the manner in which they stifle it, the one through fear, the other through obstinacy. Accordingly, Montague says, "a judge must avoid four faults:—idleness, corruption, cowardliness and headyness." Though he places 'headiness' at the last, yet in reality it is not the least of the faults. Since to err is human, there is no wonder if a man sometimes fall into error; but it shows great perversity of intellect when one does not mend his ways on being shown

his error. Indeed, erroneousness is not so great a fault as obstinate persistency in error. Mr. James O'Kinealy, who has only lately retired from the Bengal High Court, was generally correct in his views, but if he once fell into error, he would almost invariably stick to it, and, so far from correcting himself, would go on arguing and try to show that he was not wrong. Not having the will to mend his opinion, he would fain believe that he was not properly convinced, and as the poet has it

> "One who's convinced against his will,
> Is of the same opinion still."

Akin to courage is independence. These two qualities were best seen in Lord Coke who did not hesitate to give up his post, high as it was, when he found that he could not give them fair play without offending the king. Indeed, he rated them much above royal favour. On being asked whether in a case in which the king might be concerned he would stay proceedings pending his Majesty's consultation with the judges, his memorable reply was, "When the case shall be I will do that which shall be fit for a judge to do." Mr. Justice Crewe's independence of character was almost equally high; it was best seen in the famous ship-money case. Manfully supported as he was by the heroic advice of his lady, he declared against the opinion of his colleagues that the law was opposed to the claims of the crown.* The noble boldness which the Mahommedan Kazi showed to King Nasiruddin of Bengal is also worthy of no small praise. Indeed, it stands superior to the courage of a Coke or a Crewe. But neither courage nor independence is inconsistent with obedience properly so called. Accordingly Bacon compared the twelve judges of the realm to the twelve lions under Solomon's throne, stoutly bearing it up, who, though in obedience from the fact of their having been under the shrine, were yet lions. A judge may well act in obedience to the laws without compromising his courage or independence. Nor is courage inconsistent with fear of God. Indeed, according to Jethro, the fearing God† is a necessary qualification in a judge; it is the fear of man—fear which Burke denounces as "the most unwise, the most unjust, and the most cruel of all counsellers"—that is a disgrace and a disqualification. A God-fearing judge is an object of glorification, whereas a man-fearing judge is a moral nuisance which must be got rid of at once. The Prophet David truly observes:—"The Angel of the Lord tarrieth round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them."

* Fuller, speaking of Crewe when out of office, felicitously observed "the county hath constantly a smile for him for whom the court hath a frown."

† A judge should "devote himself Deo, Reje, et Lege" Montague.

Jethro says that a judge should also be a man of truth. Truthfulness, however, is implied by the fear of God, because one who fears God cannot but be a man of truth. A liar or a dishonest man could not be said to fear God, for if he did, he would on no account murder his conscience, or act dishonestly. In this respect a judge should follow the Honyhuhums who, we are told, have no word in their language to express lying or falsehood. Fear of God also implies impartiality. Partiality is only a milder term for corruption. A judge who is partial to one party or the other cannot possibly hope to do justice, his sense of right and wrong being blended by misplaced love or prejudice. This partiality may be of two kinds, *viz.*, partiality for a particular party, or partiality for a particular counsel or pleader. The latter fault was conspicuous in Lord Kenyon who indulged in partialities for, and antipathies against, particular barristers. Erskine was his "noted favourite," whereas Law was oftentimes snubbed by him. This Law, be it said, defended the famous eastern satrap, Warren Hastings, against such an array of illustrious orators and lawyers and got him honourably acquitted. Some Indian judges also have had their favourite barristers and vakils who seldom lost cases before them, and, even when they lost, they lost with credit. Both kinds of partiality are bad, though partiality for parties is a greater fault than partiality for practitioners.

A judge must make a virtue of patience. Indeed, "patience and gravity" of bearing is, as Bacon says, "an essential part of justice." It is not good for a judge to hurry over a case, as he thereby runs the risk of making a mess in it. Hurry and haste, so far from effecting despatch, often runs counter to it and leads to bad results. A judge may well be slow, provided he be sure, for tardy justice is better than speedy injustice. But he must always bear in mind the "law's delay" which has become proverbial, and try to decide cases with despatch. He must not, however, in hot haste try to jump to a conclusion. Nor should he listen to private accounts* or pass his judgment on *ex parte* statements. As in almost all cases, the Spectator's wise remark to Sir Roger—"much might be said on both sides"—holds good, it is not prudent or advisable for a judge to hazard an opinion without hearing the other side. If the saying—*Audi alteram partem*—is to be commonly followed in the ordinary concerns of life, it must be invariably followed in the determination of disputes in a court of justice. There is no wonder if a hasty conclusion arrived at on hearing one side only, should in some cases lead even to irremediable

* "Justice should be deaf, except in the seat, and never blind there."

injustice. Lord Eldon always doubted, though his doubts were better than other men's certainties. Indeed, his judgments are universally held in high esteem, so that an equitable code, as has been said, might be constructed out of them. On the other hand, Lord Kenyon never doubted, and yet it could not be said that his judgments were on a par with those of Lord Eldon. Sir Nicholas Bacon, father of the illustrious philosopher, used to say when pressed for decision, "you must give me time." In fact, a judge who does not pay proper attention to the cases before him nor takes time to consider them is guilty of a neglect of duty. "Patience," says Lord Ellesmere, "is a great part of a judge;" and that part is so very essential that without it a judge would be a crude imperfect character only. For sooth, no business can be well done which is not well understood, and nothing can be well understood which is not considered with patience.

Akin to patience is good temper. One who has no control over his temper cannot prove a good judge. Evenness of temper is a great aid to arriving at a right conclusion. Testiness and impatience bring on confusion, and confusion in the mind leads to confusion in the brain. A peevish, petulant or impatient judge cannot take a calm dispassionate view of a case, and it is therefore no wonder if his judgments do not prove right or satisfactory. Evenness of temper is not inconsistent with gravity of hearing without which a judge cannot maintain the dignity of his office. A judge should not be given to joking over the bench nor allow others to do so. This would be playing merry-andrew in a place from which tomfoolery should of all others be studiously kept out. The court is not a theatre for the exhibition of the gay side of human nature and its business requires that kind of solemnity which prevails in a church or a temple.

It is commonly said that manners make the man. If this is true of man in general, it is pre-eminently true of the man in ermine. Good manners in a judge are a great qualification, so that a judge who is wanting in them must be considered to have a sad failing. Lord Coke with all his brilliant legal acquirements could not keep his temper under check and control. He not unoften proved rough and uncourteous and thus lost much of the esteem to which he was entitled for his vast and deep erudition. And yet urbanity is not inconsistent with law-learning. Chief Justice Crewe might be adduced as an instance in point. To learning hardly inferior to that of Coke and to equal independence he added, as Lord Campbell says—what Coke wanted so much—patience in hearing, evenness of temper, and kindness of heart. Courtesy costs nothing, and it is much to be regretted that some men do not try to take

the credit of a very valuable accomplishment without having to pay a doit for it. Lord Kenyon's bad temper was a great defect in him, and were it not that he possessed strong common sense and often did substantial justice, his name would have come down to posterity with that of Popham* whose shabby treatment of that really great and valiant man, Sir Walter Raleigh, shows what despicable stuff he was made of. Lord Mansfield was the very reverse of Lord Kenyon in point of manners. Indeed, he was a pattern of politeness. Instances are certainly very few of his temper having been ruffled while discharging the onerous duties of his high office. It would seem that he had made Socrates his prototype and would rather be offended than offending. Dr. Johnson with all his deep hatred of the Scottish nation, had a special regard for Mansfield, and, what is stranger still, bracketted him with "the greatest lawyer of antiquity, as Mansfield himself has described his great exemplar. But the resemblance is not confined to the fact of both having been well versed in law; it extends to similarity of manners. The Athenian sage on being told by one of the passers-by that he was being ridiculed by the Sophist said that *he himself* was not ridiculed. But of all English judges none equalled Justice Graham in politeness. In fact, he was the politest judge that ever adorned the bench. The late Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir William Comer Petheram, was a perfect gentleman, and however people might differ regarding his ability as a judge, all would, it is hoped, agree in giving him credit for mildness and affability. If he ever lost temper on the bench,—a thing very rare indeed,—he knew where to find it again. In fact, his politeness has done him yeoman service and has earned for him such high honour as has never been shown to any of his predecessors in office. Sir Barnes Peacock was a very able and learned judge, so much so that India has not seen his equal up to this time. Even he was not so honoured on the eve of his departure from this country as Sir Comer has been. As for the late Mr. Justice Norris, he was the very reverse of his Chief. His manners were not at all becoming a gentleman. Justice Leblanc was not more disliked by the English bar than Justice Norris was by the Indian. No vakil or barrister, if he could help it, would appear before him. His retirement, though under very painful circumstances, has been an agreeable relief to the bar, if not also to the bench, for we know as a fact that some of his colleagues could not at all pull well with him. Judges should know that they have certain duties to perform in regard to the gentlemen who practice before them. The latter are all honourable men,

* He was called the "hanging judge" for his extreme severity

and it is only fair and just that they should receive an honourable treatment. Indeed, the bar and the bench should be respectful to each other; and surely there is no better means of preserving the dignity of the court. But unfortunately for the profession some judges fail to recognise this fact, or, admitting its correctness, do not choose to act up to it.

A near kin to evenness of temper is kindness of heart. Kindness like courtesy costs nothing, and if a judge could be kind without being unjust or partial, we see no reason why he should not be so. A judge, however, need not be benevolent like Sir Julius Cæsar, who, while presiding at the Admiralty Court, used to relieve the poor suitors so very liberally as almost to impoverish himself. This is going to the extreme of kindness. It is not expected of a judge that he shall relieve needy suitors out of his own pocket; all that is required of him is to show kindness consistent with the dignity of his position. Chief Justice Crewe was a very kind judge, and yet the bitterest of his enemies could not say that his kind disposition interfered with the due discharge of his judicial functions. A cruel judge may inspire fear and dread into the minds of the court-going public, but he can never expect to win their love. Mere rudeness, however, is not cruelty, and one may be rude without being in the least cruel. Dr. Johnson was a blunt unmannerly fellow in outward department, but his heart was one of the purest and best that mortals ever possessed. Lord Coke was very uncourtly in his manners, but cruelty he condemned in the strongest terms. It was said of him, which, alas, could be said of very few human beings, that he "never gave his body to physic, nor his heart to cruelty, nor his hand to corruption.

Above all, a judge should have a strong love for his duties. However able and learned a man may be, if he has not his heart at his work, he cannot do it properly. Now, what is true of workers in general is pre-eminently true of the grave worker on the judgment seat. Love of work is absolutely necessary for the due performance thereof. This love was conspicuous in Lord Mansfield. In fact, his ruling passion was ardent love of judicial duties In view of this peculiar trait in his character he is very properly placed by the side of two of the greatest men of modern times—Grotius, the great Jurist, and D'Aguesiau, the great stateman. Lord Eldon, it is true, was charged with dilatoriness. But his doubting habit was not the result of any defect in his mental powers,—it arose from a very strong desire to do "even-handed justice." Sir Samuel Romilly very truly

said,—"If Lord Eldon has a fault, it is an over-anxiety to do justice." This 'over-anxiety,' as it was called, was owing to his having passionately loved the duties of his office. Mansfield's love of judicial duties was not less passionate. Indeed, love is a very great power, and its sway is almost universal. Love rules not only "the camp, the court and the grove," it also rules the closet and the forum. No one can become great without having love of some kind. Love for work should not be less passionate than love for women. What is usually called dilatoriness is certainly a fault, but proper and reasonable delay in deciding difficult and intricate cases is not to be confounded with it. A judge, as has already been remarked, should take time to come to a just conclusion. He should not, like the Duke of Newcastle in *Humphrey Clinker*, be led away by impatience or haste His motto should be '*festina lente.*' Bacon speaks of a "wise man" (probably referring to Sir Amyas Paulet, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador in France), who, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, used to say, "*stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.*" Sir John Leach, who was the Master of the Rolls while Lord Eldon was the Chief of the Chancery Court, got through business in a reckless slashing way. The modes in which these two judges discharged their respective functions were so diametrically opposed to each other that the Rolls Court used to be humourously called by the lawyers the Court of *Terminer sans oyer*, and the Chancery Court, the Court of *Oyer sans terminer*. Unfortunately for Bengal such instances have not been rare in our High Court.

All the above qualifications would go for nothing, if they be accompanied by corruption.* What ulcer is to the body, covetousness is to the judicial office. Jethro says that a judge should hate covetousness. No sager advice could be given. Covetousness leads to bribery, and bribery leads to perversion of justice. Thus, it lies at the very root of all injustice. Sir Matthew Hale truly says,—"It is a great dishonour as a man can be capable of, to be hired for a little money, to speak or act against his conscience." To take bribes † and pervert justice is, as Latimer says, "*scala inferni*—the right way to hell." But covetousness should not be confounded with avarice which may be perfectly harmless. Avarice was Lord Hardwicke's ruling passion, but he never soiled his hands with Saint James' golden grease. Indeed, though for his avarice

* "With the name of judge," eloquently observes Mr H W. Beecher, "are associated ideas of immaculate purity" sober piety, and fearless favourless justice." Lecture on Gamblers and Gambling.

† Demosthenes, the Prince of Greek Orators, was banished for bribery, and Seneca, the Prince of Roman Moralists, for divers corruptions.

he was nicknamed "Judge Gripus," there was not one single syllable uttered against his integrity—that "peculiar portion and proper virtue" of a judge. As for his success in his official career it was simply marvellous. During his twenty years' occupation of the Chancellor's Chair, only three of his decisions were appealed against, and they too were confirmed by the House of Lords. Lord Kenyon's avarice also amounted to a fault, so much so that he was called the legal sloven. Surely, a judge must sit in court in proper dress, else the robes of the judge and the crown of the king would be meaningless. The dress of Lord Kenyon would have disgraced a copying clerk. But his moral character was never assailed, nay, not even a mere suspicion was breathed against it. Indeed, those days are gone when justice used to be bought and sold like ordinary merchandise. Not only in modern but also in ancient times was judicial delinquency rampant, and punishment for it too was extremely severe. The Persian Monarch, Cambyses, caused a gift-taking judge to be flayed alive, and his skin to be laid on the judgment seat as a warning to future judges. Alfred the Great ordered forty-four justices in one year to be hanged as murderers for their false judgments. Judicial corruption attained a very considerable height in the reign of Edward I. The corruptions practised by Empson and Dudley, in the reign of Henry VII, are well-known. These rapacious judges, as Bacon said, "preyed like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves." But Bacon, though he blamed these notorious judges for gross malpractices, could not himself keep his hand clean from the prevailing vice of the times. He was convicted on his own confession and was imprisoned in the Tower for some time. Although he was by all accounts one of the greatest of great men in point of ability, wisdom and scholarship, Pope did not hesitate to condemn him as "the meanest of mankind." But times are altered, and judges both in England and India are, as a rule, above the vice of covetousness, and one may without hyperbole, say with old Dr. Parr that bribery is as little known to the bench as parricide is said to have been to the Ancient Greeks. This is as it should be. If the fountain of justice is polluted, how can you expect to get justice pure and undefiled. The judge should not only be free from corruption; but, like Cæsar's wife, be above suspicion. The moral atmosphere of the Indian Courts is happily changed for the better, and if the intellectual portion of them were equally improved, they would be actually what they are in theory, namely, palladium of justice.

A judge must not aim at playing the rôle of a politician indeed, no two characters are more unlike one another. A judge should not mix in political affairs.

Although his dealings are with men, he must not try to be what in common parlance is called a public character. He should stick to his own duties, and not interfere with those of the statesman. The two characters being essentially different, if it be attempted to bring them into union, the result would not be agreeable, if not positively repulsive. Basil Montague, speaking of the irreconcilable character of the judge and the politician says, "the judge unbending as the oak, the politician pliant as an Osier; the judge, of a retired nature and unconnected with politics, firm and constant, the same to all men,—the politician ever varying." A far greater man than Montague has also spoken in the same strain. Burke says, "the judges are, or ought to be, of a reserved and retired character, and wholly unconnected with the political world." Thus it is clear that the union of the character of judge and politician is not at all desirable; and it is upon this principle that when a gentleman is raised to the bench, he cuts all his political connection with Government if he happens to have any at the time. If our memory errs not, when Mr. Chandra Madhub Ghose was made a puisne judge of the High Court, he resigned his seat in the Bengal Council. The present Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir Francis William Maclean, resigned his seat in Parliament and with it all his connection with the world of politics, when in 1891 he was appointed to the office of a Master in Lunacy. There may be another reason why such a course should be adopted, and that is the undesirability of the union of the offices of the judge and the legislator. The man who makes the law must not also be the person to declare it. In that case improvements in law would be few and far between. On a similar principle the judicial and the executive functions should not be allowed to be exercised by one and the same individual.

A judge, it is true, should not get into the troubled waters of politics; but there is nothing to prevent his taking part in such business of state as concerns any large portion of the community. Bacon very properly observes: "Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables,—*Salus Populi suprema lex*; and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious and oracles not well inspired. Therefore, it is a happy thing in a state, when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again, when judges do often consult with the king and the state; the one, where there is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law: for many times the things reduced to judgment may be *meum* and

tuum, when the reasoned consequence thereof may trench to point of estate." Thus, it is highly desirable that the executive and the judicial should not clash with each other but act in concert and amity; and, accordingly, though a judge should not pose himself as a politician, he would be wanting in his duty if he did not take part in certain affairs of state which require for their due discharge his advice and help.

A judge may also take interest in the cause of education. Lord Brougham, while he presided over the Court of Chancery was President of several educational institutions, and we all know very well how ably and satisfactorily he discharged the functions of his high office, the highest of all judicial offices in England. In fact, educational matters are so very innocuous in their nature that any one from the highest to the lowest may well take part in them without doing any injury to his own proper calling. When the Calcutta University was established, Sir James Colville, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was appointed its first Vice-Chancellor. In our own day and only recently, Dr. Gurudas Banerjee, a puisne judge of the High Court, filled the same office for two years, and, be it said to his credit, filled it with honour, doing its duties in his usual quiet way. Sir Comer Petheram, the late Chief Justice, was also Vice-Chancellor for some time. And this was not his only connection with the education department, he was, if our information is correct, the President of the Bethune College. His worthy successor on the Bench is also successor to him in the Vice-Chancellor's Chair. Sir Barnes Peacock, however, was not openly connected with any educational institution; but there is no doubt that he had his warmest sympathy for such establishments. He was so engrossed with the matters which directly concerned him that he hardly found time to look to other matters which did not press upon him equally closely. Like Sir Matthew Hale and Lord Mansfield, Sir Barnes' ruling passion was intense love of judicial duties and he doted on it with all the fondness of an old father for his only child. In order to satisfy this strong desire he kept up regular study and used to read till late in the nights. His brilliant judgments are the best proofs of his general scholarship as well as of his peculiar knowledge of law. Surely, Sir Barnes was a model judge, and his name has become a household word in Bengal, we had almost said, in the whole of this vast Peninsula. He was a many-sided man; but the side which was prominently put forth before the public had reference to the high office which he held. Sir William Jones used to read both European and Indian classics, and it was said that not a year passed without his reading over Ferdusi's grand Epic. Indeed,

the *Shahnama* was his great favourite and he was so much in love with it that he had a mind to render it into English verse. Chief Justice Cockburn used to read Milton's *Paradise Lost* once in every year. Even Coke himself would now and then spend an hour or two with the Mantuan muse. We do not know if Sir Barnes had a special liking for any particular poem or author, but it is certain that he did not altogether leave off his study of polite literature.

A judge may take interest not only in the cause of education, he may also take part in some other matters which concern the general well-being of the community. He need not involve himself in purely social matters, but there is no harm in his joining any movement which may be set on foot for the amelioration of the morals and manners of the people at large. The country expects much from him, and it is his duty to do all he possibly can without any detriment to the due discharge of his judicial functions. Bacon warned the judges against hunting for popularity, saying, "A popular judge is a deformed thing, and plaudits are fitter for players than magistrates." Mr. Justice Foster's condemnation of a popular judge is stronger still: he describes such a judge as "an odious and pernicious character." It is true, a judge should not hunt for popularity; but there can be no harm if popularity should come of its own accord as a necessary consequence of his satisfactory conduct on the bench. One may gain popularity without being a popularity-hunter. It is the hankering after it that is blamable and must be repressed. A judge should not be led away by a desire to excite admiration. Lord Mansfield was a very popular judge, and yet his bitterest enemy could not say that he ever hunted for it. His idea of popularity is quite noble and may be adopted by every judge with propriety. In fact, his words on the subject deserve to be inscribed in characters of gold and may be quoted here with advantage. He says, "I wish popularity, but it is that popularity which follows, not that which is run after. It is that popularity which, sooner or later, never fails to do justice to the pursuit of noble ends by noble means." But popular applause or vogue, as it is called, should not be confounded with popularity: the one is often blind and may be the result of party feelings, whereas the other springs from really good service done to the people. Popular applause may change with change in the circumstances, but popularity, properly so called, is lasting and defies time and change. Lord Mansfield is still held in great esteem, though he is dead nearly a century and a quarter. Indeed, popularity is owing to a man's work and is bound up with it, so that the one lasts as long as the other. The man may be dead, but his actions remain

which may be considered as permanent and lasting in their effects. Sir Barnes Peacock, than whom a better judge never adorned the Indian Bench, and probably never will, was deservedly popular and his popularity has long survived and is likely to last as long as law, justice and equity shall receive their due regard and honour. Indeed, his well-reasoned and well-written judgments are often quoted at the bar and approved of by the judges. The late Justice Dwarkanath Mitter was so much liked both by the profession and the public that efforts were generally made to get cases heard by the bench in which he sat. It seldom falls to the lot of a judge to gain the confidence of both parties. Such popularity, rare as it is, is highly commendable, and it is this kind of popularity to which the noble words of Lord Mansfield are applicable. There is nothing ignoble in the word itself; it is the difference in the mode by which it is attained that makes all the difference in its character.

The question as to how far the duty of a judge extends is not free from difficulty. His main duty is undoubtedly the determination of disputes between man and man. His decision may be substantially right, but his duty does not end there, he should give his reasons for such decision. Lord Mansfield's advice to a general about to act as a colonial judge was given under very peculiar circumstances. The man was not a trained lawyer, indeed, he was perfectly innocent of law; but he possessed good common sense. If his Lordship had had any hand in the matter of his appointment, he would most probably have refrained from giving his assent to it. But as the man had been already appointed, the advice which he gave was the best that could be given under the circumstances. In matters involving no intricate question of law, one possessing average common sense may decide rightly, but should he attempt to give reasons for his decision, it is ten to one he will fail to give the right reasons. Although his Lordship's advice is well-known, still it may be reproduced here without impropriety His practically wise words were,—"decide according to your sense of justice, but never give your reasons; for your judgment will probably be right, but your reasons will certainly be wrong." A judge should not deem his duty done by merely deciding to the best of his ability and knowledge,—he should go further and give reasons for his decision. In no case should a judge follow the example of Lord Eldon's Deputy, Sir John Leach, who was very fond of pronouncing judgment without assigning any reason other than what Shakespeare calls "a woman's reason." In fact a judgment which does not contain reasons for it is no judgment at all. It is a naked thing which may satisfy the successful party, but cannot be agreeable to anybody else.

Unfortunately for the Bengal public, some of our High Court judges follow this bad practice in deciding second appeals. Lord Monboddo in his Essay on Lord Mansfield observes that it belongs to the office of a judge not only to determine controversies between man and man, but to satisfy the parties that they have got justice,* and thereby give ease and contentment to their minds, which the noble essayist holds to be one of the great uses of law. Similar remarks were made by the Court of Directors in their instructions to the gentlemen who were appointed to administer justice in India under the popular rule of the old "John Company" as the late East India Company was called in ordinary parlance. It is not enough for a judge to do bare justice, he must show to the parties and the public that justice has been done. This he can only do by taking evidence in full, hearing the parties or their pleaders, and passing judgments well supported by good and valid reasons.

Lastly, one who would be a good judge must tread in the footsteps of men who have distinguished themselves on the bench. In this connection many brilliant instances might be cited. We have already noticed some of them. They all deserve to be followed and a judge would do well to take them as models. As for Sir Matthew Hale we have only made a passing mention. He was really a very great judge and his high qualifications excited the admiration of two very eminent men —one a poet of no ordinary merit and the other a theologian of widespread celebrity. Their graphic descriptions of the famous judge, though they may have been quoted more than once, will not suffer by being quoted again. The excellent poet of the *Task* has thus described him :—

> "Immortal Hale! for deep discernment praised
> And sound integrity, not more than famed
> For sanctity of manners undefiled."

The pious author of "The Saint's Everlasting Rest" has still more highly eulogised him, and his eulogium does not in the least smack of the flatterer. Indeed, Baxter was incapable of flattering any mortal, and what he has recorded was the result of most deliberate conviction. He describes Sir Matthew Hale as "That unwearied student, that prudent man, that solid philosopher, that famous lawyer, that pillar and basis of justice (who would not have done an unjust act for any worldly price or motive)—the ornament of his Majesty's Government, and honour of England, the highest faculty of the soul of Westminster Hall, and pattern to all the reverend and honourable judges, that godly, serious, practical Christian, the lover of

* Speaking of the high repute in which Lord Chancellor Talbot's judgments were held, the poet of the *Seasons* says,

> "And e'en the loser prais'd the just decree."

goodness and all good men." Thus we conclude this discourse with the wise and eloquent words of the illustrious English saint as we began it with the equally wise and eloquent words of the illustrious Roman orator.

OYEZ.

ART. VI.—BIRD MYTHOLOGY.

INTERESTING conclusions may be drawn from even a slight and casual study of bird mythology and of the beliefs and conceptions of ancient as well as modern paganism regarding the animal world. One circumstance that strikes us prominently in the course of such an enquiry is that almost all races in the lowest stages of moral and intellectual development have allowed to the animal world generally the possession of souls, the hopes of a future condition of existence, and, in some cases, actual superiority to man. Another lesson which we cannot fail to derive in the pursuit of our investigations is that such primitive beliefs and conceptions may resist with more or less success, the elevating and civilising influences of great religious systems such as Hinduism and Christianity. So far as the latter religion is concerned we have a vast amount of evidence showing that its introduction into Europe has, in many places, and in many respects, made scarcely any impression on the mythology which it sought and had to replace. At the same time, there is also a wealth of evidence to show that it has surely and certainly succeeded to a considerable extent in effectually dispelling the mists of pagan superstition, and in bringing about, with the aid of progressive science and of rationalism, a remarkable and wholesome change of thought in respect of olden-time conceptions of the animal world and natural phenomena generally. Pursuing our investigation further afield, we find also that, for all the spread and increase of that kind of knowledge which is fatally antagonistic to the philosophy of the infant world, another peculiar result of the operations of rationalism, higher religion, and progressive science, has been merely to change the form and semblance of mythical beliefs, without destroying their grotesqueness, their glaring improbability and their opposition to the very ethics and fundamental principles of a religion which, at least in these latter years, has successfully been proved to possess no single characteristic that is not in harmony with the creed of science, so far as science, notwithstanding the famous dictum of Mr. Huxley, can be said to possess a creed. Thus, in many parts of Europe, they still cling to the picturesque superstition that the robin owes his red breast either to the thorn which he extracted from the Crown of Christ, or to his daily visits to hell to extinguish the flames by casting drops of water upon them; and in Bohemia, it is still seriously believed that the mark on the beak of the crossbill was left there as a

result of the bird's kindly yet fruitless endeavours to extract the nails which pierced the hands of the Crucified Saviour. Thus again, the magpie still continues to be a thing of evil in the eyes of the people of Scotland, for they say that it was heartless and insolent at the Crucifixion, on which solemn and mournful occasion it happened to be present along with the robin. Until then, it was a beautiful bird with a melodious voice, while the robin was a plain-featured, unattractive little creature. For its wickedness, the magpie was deprived for ever of its beauty and its voice,* while the kind robin was transformed into a thing of loveliness and an enduring joy. Against these instances of Christianity being unconsciously instrumental in giving an exaggerated touch to myths that may have come down from purely pagan times, we have the fact that Christian influence on pagan mythology has lowered the cat and the serpent to a place of evil. We say so because it will be remembered that the ancient Scandinavians reckoned the cat sufficiently worthy to draw the chariot of Freja, and the serpent as deserving of the worship of humans. Again, as illustrating our point that the lower animals were at one time credited with the possession of souls, we may, with a certain amount of consistency, cite the pretty South Indian legend which accounts for the existence of the beautiful Brahmini duck. It is said that a pair of lovers, for some sin or other, were suddenly transformed into a pair of these ducks, and now spend their nights on the opposite banks of a stream, calling plaintively across the water to one another:—"Chakwi, may I come?" "No, Chakwa." "Chakwa, may I come?" "No, Chakwi." Of course, it would be an impossibility to trace the origin of myths like these, which have come down to us from the hoary times when the children of men had not yet studied and cultivated the art of recording and chronicling events, nor are we in a position to do more than generalise vaguely as to the manner in which most of these myths travelled far and wide from the scenes amidst which they sprang into existence. Nevertheless, it is deeply interesting to stumble upon parallel legends like these in localities far remote, and peopled now by different races with differing systems of religion and philosophy. Hence, it is of interest to note that a superstition similar to that of the duck prevails in Albania with regard to the cuckoo. The fabric that clothes the Albanian conceit is of different tecture and substance, but the conceit is practically identical with the Indian. There were once two brothers and a sister, so runs the story, and the latter accidentally killed one of the former by piercing him to the heart with her scissors. She and the surviving brother grieved so long and passionately

* The Australian Magpie has an exceedingly sweet note.—*Ed., C. P.*

tha they were turned into cuckoos. The brother cries out to the lost one by night, *gjon, gjon,* and she by day, *kuku, kuku,* which means, "where are you?" These legends have a further interest in that they furnish us with examples of the metamorphosis of pagan superstition, for in Slavonic mythology, the god Zywiec used to change himself into a cuckoo, in order to announce to mortals the number of years they had to live. We might also cite other resemblant myths and superstitions that occur in countries widely separated from one another. In Southern India, for instance, the hornbill is believed to have been a cowherd before its transformation by Vishnu as an everlasting punishment for cruelly refusing a drink of water to the sacred cow when she was thirsty. In the transformation, a beak was provided for the bird that would enable it to quench its thirst only by looking up whenever it rained. Now, the French legend of the woodpecker is something of a piece with this quaint Indian myth, with the difference that it goes a step further and associates the woodpecker with the creation of the terrestrial world. The legend goes that when the seas and lakes and rivers were being formed out of chaos, to all birds was allotted the task of making the reservoirs into which the waters of the earth were to flow. The woodpecker alone refused to join in the great irrigation project, and for his lazy and mutinous conduct he was condemned to dig the wood of trees for ever with his bill. He was further condemned (and here is the chief point of resemblance between the French and Indian legends) to drink only of the water of heaven, and this explains why his head is so constantly turned upwards. We have already said that, in many cases, Christianity has only altered the form and character of pagan superstitions without destroying them. There are Christian countries in which the cock is held in abhorrence, doubtless because it (innocently) figures in the account of the Trial of Christ. It is, hence, worthy of note that in many pagan countries, so far from being considered a bird of ill omen, the cock has actually been looked upon as possessing a degree of sanctity. In Persia, for example, the life of Chanticleer was held sacred, while the ancient Greeks regarded the killing of a cock as equivalent in iniquity to the killing of a father by suffocation. Turning, however, to Hindu mythology, we have a legend that does not show off the cock in a very favourable light. Indra assumed the form of this bird and crowed one day at 2 A.M. in order to make Gautama believe that it was time for his morning bath. The object of the deceit was to enable Indra to visit Ahalia, of whom he was enamoured. Gautama went to bathe, but finding that the hour was yet too early, he returned unexpectedly and discovered the treachery of Indra, whom he

forthwith cursed, saying that Indra should thenceforth have a thousand cocks all over his body. Eventually, this curse was revoked and a thousand eyes were substituted for the same number of birds. Down to the present day, in parts of India, great store is set by a black hen, it being considered lucky as well as of high medicinal value. Very different though is the case in the Tyrol, where they will not let a black hen live for seven years, for fear that at that period she may lay an egg out of which may issue a terrible dragon destined to live a hundred years. The dove and the pigeon have in nearly all times and countries been held in the greatest veneration, and so far as the pigeon is concerned, it is reasonable to conclude that the belief in the sacred character of the bird is only a survival of the ancient mythology of the Aryans, and who can say that it was not this very belief that crossed the seas and travelled to the Andamans, the people of which region have always maintained that the pigeon, the parrot, the crow and certain other birds were human beings before their transformation, for some reason or other into their present state. This belief naturally reminds us of the Hindu idea that the spirits of dead ancestors enter the bodies of crows, and we come, by a slight mental effort, to remember that this belief of human souls entering the bodies of lower animals is one of the commonest in pagan mythology all the world over. A certain Californian tribe, for instance, deemed it a heinous offence to kill deer on the ground that the spirits of departed Californians animated the bodies of deer. The objections of the early Britons to the destruction of hares may have been based, for aught we know, on a similar belief.

In the Hindu scriptures, a very high place is assigned to the parrot, Saraswati, the Minerva of the Hindu Pantheon, having assumed the form of this bird for the purpose of narrating the Puranas. In Andamanese mythology, the parrot is associated with a legend that ascribes to it a human origin. Why should the bird be thus the object of especial veneration in countries differing so widely with regard to religion and customs? Why, except because myths like these sprang from one source and underwent change of garb and colour in their accidental peregrinations. Mark, now, the striking similarity between another Andamanese legend relating to the kingfisher and the European legend regarding the wren. According to the Andamanese, after a great flood had extinguished all fire upon the earth, a deceased islander came as a kingfisher to the four human survivors of the flood and offered to help them. The kingfisher flew up to the sky and attempted to bring away on his back a burning log which he found beside one of the gods. The log accidentally

fell on the god, who, becoming exasperated, lifted it and hurled it at the daring intruder. It missed the latter, but fell to the earth near the very spot where the four shivering survivors of the flood were seated bemoaning their fate. The European legend is to the effect that the wren flew to heaven to fetch down fire for the use of mortals and accidentally had his tail feathers burnt. We shall never get to know how these various myths about the lower animals originated, though we may generalise broadly as to the manner in which they travelled from one part of the world to another. As an eminent writer says, "they have passed from mouth to mouth, they have rooted themselves here and there, like winged seeds finding a resting place in different soils, and there shooting up, as if of native growth, and defying every attempt to ascertain their exact origin." We should not, however, look down scornfully from the heights of modern civilisation upon these myths and fancies of inferior races; nor are we justified in characterising them as a medley of nonsense. Superstition is after all but the search for truth amidst ignorance, and we have been reminded by a high authority that our own modern institutions also are not the product of spontaneous generation. Elie Reclus says with much truth and force that "there is a lesson to be learnt, if we take the pains to look for it, in these errors through which the human race has passed, these illusions which it has left behind. They are no mere anomalies, sports of chance launched forth into empty space; they have been produced by natural causes, in natural, and we may say, logical order. . . . . They were a result of the disproportion between the immensity of the world and the insignificance of our personality, and they gave evidence of persevering effort, they betokened the evolution of our organism and its adaptation to its surroundings, an adaptation which is always imperfect, always being improved."

R. R. P.

ART. VII.—A RETURNED EMPTY.

(*Continued from April 1901, No. 224.*)

CHAPTER IX.

1891.

THE year witnessed no very important events; save that the two romantic personages whose names had been so long in men's mouths died, within a few weeks of each other. General Boulanger and his friend Mme. de Bonnemain left Jersey and went to Brussels; where the lady, presently dying, was buried in the rural cemetery of Ixelles, a suburb to the N. E. of that city. The General, by this time, had lost his means of action, perhaps even of subsistence, but he laid a stone over his friend's remains with an inscription asking, How he could live without her? And on the 30th of September he walked up to the grave-side and there shot himself through the head. During the summer Mr. C. S. Parnell married a lady whose husband had divorced her on his account; and on the 6th October he died at Brighton. Lord Salisbury continued in Office during the year, somewhat relieved of the stress of Irish politics by the dissensions which had arisen among the members of the Nationalist party, which Parnell's death had done nothing to appease.

For my own humble part, the year opened with a certain amount of unexciting occupation; a little mild wintry light upon the path, with plenty of cloud in the distance. I continued to live at Norwood, where some pleasant acquaintances were made from time to time.

January, Friday, 19th.—Read the November Nos. of *Revue des deux Mondes*, containing an interesting article, on "Pascal's Wager," by the poet Sully Prudhomme. Pascal says we *must* have a bet on the subject of God's existence, whether we desire it or not; for not to bet that He exists is to bet that He does not: (which Voltaire denies). M. Sully Prudhomme does not appear to think that we have much option; but as to the presence of evil in the world, will not allow that it is an argument against the power or goodness of the Deity. It may be the divine law that we, by suffering, or self-denial, should enhance the *value of our race*. In which case there is still room for responsibility; and the man who loves, or who yields to, moral evil must be held blameworthy for descending where he ought to rise and so retarding the Great Purpose. There seems, however, still a difficulty, namely, to see how

the Divinity can be frustrated or helped by such creatures as we are.[1]

Monday, 12th.—Reading Voltaire's *Louis XIV.* It is a model of lucidity, somewhat disturbed by flaws of ill-temper against La Beaumelle. This contemporary Zöilus had criticised the author's *Henriade* without much knowledge or power; but he was, probably, not worth powder and shot otherwise the thinking in Louis XIV is so passionless that one feels the apparently effortless style to be a carefully-prepared and most appropriate vehicle. It is also noticeable for an urbane impartiality, the merits of the British, whether as soldiers or as statesmen, receive just recognition; only a little note of Chauvinism is heard, in such moments as when the reader is reminded that Lord Galway was a Frenchman. We need not grudge this; after all Galway was beaten at Almanza; and the French army that beat him was commanded by an Englishman.*

Thursday, 15th.—*Revue* again: article by Brunetière, very ingeniously defending the Pessimism of Schopenhauer, who—according to the French critic—is misrepresented by people who have never read his writings. M. Brunetière argues that Schopenhauer is no supporter of suicide, or even of quietism; his meaning is, by inductive reasoning, to recommend that contempt of the world which Religion teaches on *à priori* grounds. Once get the idea of renunciation as an object of attraction for the Will, and death will cease to be a bugbear and will become a desired refuge. In abjuring the passion for existence we part with the motives of selfishness and learn to live for humanity. The most orthodox can accept this, seeing that the divine protection is much more plainly visible in the affairs of the race than in those of the individual. This will not lead to apathy but may dispose us rather to make use of our day for the general welfare, "Travailler, *sans raisonner*, c'est le seul moyen de rendre la vie supportable." (*Candide.*) This is in complete accordance with Christian teaching.

Saturday, 17th.—Turned some Quatrains from Persian, but all in vain. Fitz was a Traitor, but such a splendid one that faithful followers have no chance.†

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[1] "The Divinity" can never be "frustrated." But He ordains that we should "help" Him, and be, as the Apostle says, "*co-workers* with God." Surely our dear ancient friend is "Empty" indeed when he does not know this; or depreciates the nobility and dignity of the "sons of God" (St. Jonn) by referring in the terms "such creatures as we are." We are very noble creatures.—Ed., *C. R.*

* The Commander-in-Chief of the French Army was James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick, Uncle of the Great Marlborough.

† My Quatrains appeared in various periodicals.

Monday, 19th.—Went to Hereford: a long cold journey.

Tuesday, 20th.—Dr. C., the Local Secretary, explained some of the Brecon mystery. It seemed that a Miss E. there—who had heard me lecture at Oxford—had strongly advised my not being sent to Brecon; but the Committee at Oxford were rather surprised, sent me in spite of all, and wrote enquiries to other folks there by whom they were informed that the Lecture I had given at Brecon had been only in fault by reason of being over the heads of some of the audience; and there it may rest. I began my course on Indian History this evening to a most attentive and indulgent room, though not so well-filled as it might have been with a subject of wider interest.

Wednesday, 21st.—The ice broke on the Wye; and came down very swiftly, in great floating masses. The river fell three feet in six hours.

Friday, 23rd.—To Ludlow, a place of singular interest. Called on Mr. C. Forty, whom I found in the Museum, and who was kind enough to take me over the Castle, where Catherine of Aragon was married to the short-lived Prince Arthur, where *Comus* was acted in the banquet-hall, and where S. Butler wrote "Hudibras." Also saw the fine cruciform Church, then in process of moderate and judicious restoration. In the grand old pargetted inn ("The Feathers") is the council-room with the Royal Arms (temp. Jac. I.) and other carving.

Saturday, 24th.—To Belmont, where I saw the Benedictine Priory, and a fine Church built—mainly by Mr. Wegg-Prosser—within the last half century. The Prior, a very cultured and agreeable man, told some anecdotes of the first Catholic Bishop, who used to relate that when he founded the settlement the neighbouring Welsh were only nominal Christians, who had preserved some Roman customs, received by tradition from their fathers.

Sunday, 25th—Service in Cathedral. Part of Haydn's "Creation" given as Anthem in the evening.

February, Tuesday, 3rd.—To Hereford again: Dr. Chapman my host; a very cultured man.

Sunday, 8th.—Mendelssohn at Cathedral, and dull sermon by the Bishop.

Monday, 9th.—Mr. Duncombe showed me the Cathedral Library: chained Bible and other rare MSS., printed books of the 15th century; and the famous *Mappa Mundi.** In the evening a Lecture on the Crusades by a Non-Conformist Minis-

* Mediæval Map of the World, by Richard de Bello, Prebendary of Lincoln (1283). Was translated to Hereford where he died, 1305.

ter who spoke loudly and fluently, but did not seem to have reflected much. That, I suppose, is the Nemesis of eloquence?

Tuesday, 10th.—Was shown over Mr. Godwin's Pottery at Lugwardine; a marvellous mass of building and machinery, with great ingenuity and management, and lovely results in tileing, both encaustic and surface-painted. Audience at night much as usual: the same people every time, but no increase.

Tuesday, 17th.—Back at Hereford, in fine weather: lectured at night. Was hospitably received by H. C. M.

Thursday, 19th.—Read a new book about the Civil War (Cordery and Philpotts, "King and Commonwealth"). The authors—for some not obvious reason—exaggerate the backwardness of the time: saying, for example, that country-gentlemen's daughters were unlettered, and could not do anything but cook: they can hardly have read Dorothy Osborn's *Letters*. They seem also wrong in saying that all houses in towns were built of wood Cromwell's house is still to be seen at Huntingdon; and what do they say to the "Feathers" at Ludlow? one fails to understand such overstatement.

Saturday, 21st.—Invited to lecture at Oxford in August: the choice of subject left to oneself. I suppose something Indian will be expected: we have all to be specialists in these days.

Tuesday, 24th.—To Hereford: guest of Mr. Humfrys, a local antiquary, who lives en garçon in a handsome old house. Lecture went fairly. Dr. C. came and spent the evening.

Thursday, 26th.—Read "Acte" by A. Dumas (père) a clever manufactured article in the manner of our Lytton's "Pompeii," with more go. The character of Nero is hardly made out: he was probably insane.

March, Tuesday, 3rd.—Last Hereford visit: was Dr. C.'s guest.

Thursday, 5th.—Went with C. to Leominster and saw the very curious old double Church, one aisle being Norman, the other a later addition partly Decorated and partly Perpendicular. Visited a family who lived near in an old house, like an Italian *Broletto*, which had been moved bodily from the town. Walking thither before leaving saw an old Almshouse with a strange device over the entry—a naked man (carved in wood apparently) with a cocked hat on his head and an axe in his hand. This was the legend:—

> "To give away your goods before you are dead—
> Let 'em take this axe and chop off his head."

Friday, 6th.—Lectured for the "Debating Society" before a friendly audience: subject, "The Indian Mutiny."

Sunday, 8th.—A pleasant day at Ludlow with Dr. Gilkes, brother of the popular head of Dulwich. Snow at night.

Monday, 9th.—Visited Gloucester Cathedral: no Norman work like that at Hereford; but a larger and—on the whole—a grander Church, with crypt and fine triforium. The general effect very rich, especially the transition-work and fan-traceries in cloisters: Lady Chapel and Chapter-House of evident antiquity: tombs of Robert Curthose and Edward II. The whole thing illustrates several most impressive chapters of history. Still earlier remains to be seen in the city: for example behind the shop of Mr. John Bellows, the famous Quaker bookseller, a piece of the wall that once defended the Roman glevum where are bricks bearing masons' marks coeval with some in Herod's wall at Jerusalem.*

Tuesday, 10th.—Final lecture. Cold very severe, snow falling.

Wednesday, 11th.—Got home, snow lying deep: many accounts of trains being blocked; but the Great Western was clear.

Thursday, 12th.—Afternoon at Savile, where A. lunched with me, and we played billiards, marked by Rudyard Kipling—a waste of power surely. Thence to House of Commons to hear a debate sustained by Harcourt, Labouchere, Gladstone and A. Balfour—the last not the best, as we thought. In the evening to S. Philip's, where I lectured, on the Mutiny, etc., to an attentive Whitechapel audience; with transparencies.

Monday, 16th.—Thinking of a Magazine article on "Conflicts of Experience;" have been puzzled by the repeated assertion of man's ingratitude to departed merit† Thus Antony says (in "Julius Cæsar"): "The evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones:" and, elsewhere, even more strongly:—"Men's evil manners live in brass their virtues we write in water." The inscriptions on a thousand monuments are a testimony that this is not so. Let a man be ever so disagreeable during his lifetime, his family and friends will find nothing but good to record in his epitaph—at least such was usual in Shakespeare's day and much later. And Horace, dealing with a more deserving class, tells us that real merit is hated while it prospers, and deeply regretted when taken away.

Wednesday, 18th.—Read "Evan Harrington," an easy book for Meredithian beginners. It is impossible as a story of events, and the conclusion does not seem artistic. But what a capital "Clown" Raikes made; and surely the Countess is one of the firmest pictures in English fiction. To few novelists

* John Bellows (he disdains the "Mr.") is well known for his excellent *French Dictionary;* and is immortalised in the "Hundred Days" of the late O. W. Holmes.

† The paper appeared "in Macmillan's Magazine."

indeed has it been given to read female characters and present it in their books; but G. M.'s are frequently convincing.

Saturday, 21st.—Dined with A. at his Club, and thence to the Garrick Theatre to see Pinero's new piece "Lady Bountiful." Too literary, perhaps, to be quite dramatic, which latter art requires that something should be *done*. But it is full of subtle touches and the writing excellent.

Thursday, 26th.—A snowstorm. The winter may now be said to have lasted five months already.

Tuesday, 31st.—Read a somewhat capricious selection of English prose ("Mandeville to Macaulay"). The editor evidently regards the English version of "Mandeville's Travels" as an original work of the time of Chaucer. He gives no sample of Bolingbroke and only one—short and unimportant—from Burke.

April, Thursday, 2nd.—Lectured at Dulwich College. [This, by-the-bye, is a misnomer: the real College is where the old men are, and the pictures. It is one of the vulgarities of our time to think you make a school of more importance if you call it a "College:" the cases of Harrow and Rugby might teach us better.]

Wednesday.—Lunch at Athenæum, thence to Savile where I had a long talk with Rudyard Kipling, who promised to lend me what must be a strange book on the Campaign of 1761, and the famous Battle of Paniput between Afghans and Mahrattas.

Sunday, 19th.—Wonderful show of good-looking people at Church-Parade in the Park. Lunched at Sir W. Morgan's, and thence to the Savile, where a pleasant afternoon. Finished at Miss L.'s in S. Kensington, where I had my fortune told by an amateur Palmist to whom I was a total stranger: she talked nonsense.

Monday, 20th.—Cold dry weather continues. Returned "Lalan the Bairagin" to Kipling, having read it with a great interest. It appears to have been written by an Ex-Officer who left the Bombay Army and became a Mahomedan.

Friday, 24th.—Left off overcoat for the first time.

Tuesday.—At Athenæum: had some talk about French literature with Calderon and Du Maurier, who are both as much French as English. Jerningham, too: you may find cases of the kind in Jersey—minus the genius—but you would not easily find in a London room another Triad of Englishmen who are so completely saturated with all that is good in the culture of France.

May, Saturday, 9th.—Sent "Sketches in Indian Ink" to Messrs. Macmillans, introduced by Kipling.

Weather becomes warmer.

Wednesday, 13th.—Considerable heat. The Almonds, which had blossomed late, have already shed their petals. Influenza very infectious—especially among politicians.

Friday, 15th.—Invited to Clodd's at Aldeburgh; travelled with William Simpson, the Artist; met Grant Allen and the Rev. D. Morris at Saxmundham.*

Saturday, 16th.—The heat is gone, for the present the day turned wet and windy. Mr. Holman Hunt came at night,† one of the most interesting of artists and of men. After dinner, as we sate round the fire, he told us the romance of his life.

Tuesday, 19th.—We all left Aldeburgh at noon, and parted at Liverpool Street in due course, agreeing that we had passed a pleasant time.

Saturday, 23rd.—Clodd, Besant, Hardy, Kipling, and Grant Allen at Savile this afternoon: very pleasant.

June, Sunday, 7th.—Invited to join the Committee of the Local Literary Society, of which I have hitherto been an outside and *fainéant* member. These Suburban attempts at culture are, I believe, becoming general, and cannot fail to be useful in getting good lecturers to come down whom many would be otherwise unable to hear.

Monday, 8th.—A dull day, with cold showers and a strike of omnibus men. Advised to send notice to Allen and Co., dissolving connection as to books.

Wednesday, 10th.—Wrote to Messrs. Allen and Co. according to advice.‡

Tuesday, 16th.—In the evening took some young folks to the Palace, where we listened to a rehearsal of the approaching Handel festival, in which Mr. Eyre played on the organ with his wonted skill. Manns appeared dissatisfied with some of the stringed instruments; slating the performers roundly and himself singing some of the music as an indication of the time he wished them to take. It is evident that he has that part of genius that consists in taking pains, in addition to the more essential elements of success. There were some girls (I beg their pardon, "young ladies") amongst the fiddlers.

Sir J. Gorst made a bold speech last night about the disaster at Manipore; speaking of the Indian Government he said

* Mr. Simpson has been already mentioned. Morris was a School Master who having been an authority on *Pali* turned to Ancient English Scholarship. Both he and Simpson have since died; as also Allen.

† W. Holman Hunt, the celebrated Painter, once a member of the P. R. B., and intimately associated with the late Dante Rosetti in their younger days.

‡ They have since parted with the remainder—stock, which is—I am told—quite lawful an intricate case.

that it always "hated and discouraged independent and original talent, and always loved and promoted docile and unpretending mediocrity" which drew a laugh from his hearers in Parliament but—if true—seems a matter, rather, for serious reflection.

Friday, 19th.—Another Handel rehearsal; quite right at last: many people came to hear it from the West End.

Monday, 22nd.—Grand performance at Palace. Over 3,000 voices in chorus: house densely crowded.

Wednesday, 24th.—By invitation of Mr. W. S. Caine to see some Indian water-colour pictures at a Hall in Piccadilly; beautiful effects of sunshine but the drawing a little unequal. Mr. Caine * a courteous host; some of his own sketches exhibited, but the bulk of the work was by Mr. Allan of Glasgow. † A number of distinguished people present.

Sunday, 28th.—A bright, breezy day. Took A. to the Holman Hunts' at Fulham, a charming old house with large walled garden, in which a pleasant party was collected. The host related an incident illustrative of the American reverence for *a name.* At the time when he had a studio at Jerusalem he was visited by the officers of a Yankee vessel, to whom he showed the studies on which he was engaged, but found but little interest in Art evinced. After a decorous interval the visitors took leave and filed out one by one, the skipper departing last, with the remark that "they could not think of leaving Jerusalem without having seen him." They had come all the way from Jaffa, and regarded H. H. as one of the standard shows of the Holy City.

Tuesday, 30th.—Wadham dinner at the Holborn Restaurant: an incoherent gathering of old and middle-aged men. Mr. Diggle in the chair. Dr. Jessopp spoke well, the Warden looked a bit bored. ‡

July, Friday, 3rd.—Corney Grain recited at the Knightons': we thought him rather sarcastic but very amusing. §

Read some of Froude's "Elizabeth:" I like him better than on first perusal. But surely, for a professed stylist, the English is sometimes careless, *e g.*, "Mary knelt, and breathing faintly a commendation of her soul to Christ, the exe-

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* CAINE, William Sproston, once M. P. and a Lord of the Admiralty, Author of "Picturesque India" and other works.

† ALLAN, Robert W., R. W. S., R. S. W.

‡ Diggle, J. R., M. A., P., at that time Chairman of the London School Board.

Jessopp, Rev. A., D. D., Author of "The Coming of the Friars," etc.

Thorley, G. E., M. A., Warden of Wadham.

§ W. Knighton, LL. D., Author of "Private Life of an Eastern King," etc. Mr. Grain, 1844-95, was head of the German Reid Company, a musical mimic.

cutioner with a single blow struck off her head." I have purposely forced the punctuation ; but in any case the grammatical construction implies that it was the executioner who commended the poor lady's soul, which is absurd. Again ;—"The Parliament had not yet completed their work ;" where it is really the Parliament's work, not "theirs" which is in question.

Saturday, 11*th*.—Went to see the German Emperor visit the Crystal Palace ; we had to wait till near 7 P.M., and then there was not much to see after all.

Tuesday, 14*th*.—Lunched at "the Rag" with Col. C. who then accompanied me to call on his namesake at Burlington House ; and afterwards to a house in Grosvenor St. where there was a professional Palmist, in a decorated cupboard : C. boldly entered, consulted, and came away mystified.

Thursday, 16*th*.—Authors' Society dined, Lord Monkswell in the chair : met Clodd, Mrs. Chandler Moulton, Sir John Stainer, Rider Haggard and others of my acquaintance. Sate by Mr. A. A Beckett. Mr. Lincoln, the U. S. Ambassador, made a good speech, introducing the ever-interesting theme of identity of language : which, however, a Yankee present was half inclined to question : gentleman's speech was irresistibly droll, all the same.*

Tuesday, 21*st*.—To Mrs. Moulton's . an interesting party, including Miss Ward, Mrs. Campbell Praed, M. Blouet ("Max O'Rell"), Mr. Theodore Watts. and Mr. Bentley, the publisher who kindly gave me a lift in his Brougham. The talk was not important, except a remark of Max O'Rell who gave me his opinion of London Society ; saying that the working men were not to his taste nor the lower middle class ; while the aristocracy seemed to him frivolous and not very well mannered. "But," he added, "you have a *savant* type, such as one meets at a place like the Athenæum, whose social charm and bearing are unequalled."

Saturday, 25*th*.—To Naval Exhibition ; Lighthouse in grounds, a good show of portraits, and of course models, etc., in profusion.

Reading Froude still. He makes Elizabeth a complicated character, but good on the whole ; Mary he makes out strong and simple ; and thoroughly *bad*.

Thursday, 30*th*.—Gave a little dinner in the upstair room at

* A Beckett, Arthur William, journalist and author.

Lincoln, Hon. R. T., U. S. Minister at the Court of S. James, 1889-93, the title of "Ambassador," erroneously given above, was not recognised at the time.

Moulton, Louise Chandler, Poet and Writer of Children's Books. A native of Boston, Mass. who was then living in London.

the S. end of the Palace. Jerningham, Clodd, Hawkins and his clever son; fireworks much hindered by weather.* J. has been kindly trying to have me appointed Secretary in the Mauritius, whither he is proceeding as Governor. His complete knowledge of French, with his great courtesy and ability, should advance him, there and elsewhere.

Weather improving towards middle of month.

August, Thursday, 20th.—Met Gen. Nairn at Senior U. S. Club. He said my son Alfred was sure of the next mountain-battery. [Thereby hangs a tale. The next M. B. was given to another Major R. A., and when my son enquired he was told that these appointments "always went by seniority." Another vacancy occurring soon after was given to one who was A.'s junior! But he got his in the end.]

Friday, 21st—To Oxford, putting up in College. Lectured at the Union (Debating Hall). Large and attentive audience; many hearty bursts of applause; spoke an hour-and-a-half; subject—India, Causes and Consequences of Mutiny. Many of the audience remained after the conclusion, asking questions and showing unusual interest in the matter.

Tuesday, 25th—.A droll instance of want of tact in conversation, "things better not said." A retired General, with whom he had only spoken once before, was talking—as we all will—about his own concerns, and how he had entered the service in 1846. When it became my turn to speak I said "Ah! then you are my senior." To which the gallant officer answered, "Really, well, no one could think so from your appearance." But then after a pause, "You see, *I never drank.*"

Wednesday, 26th.—Sent Leitner a paper for his "Oriental Congress;" subject—Sáyad Ahmad.†

Thursday, 27th.—Read Ingram's *Life of Poe*: the author is not a literary expert; but he seems to write in good faith; and he makes out a good case for his wretched Hero: a wondrous being, almost too intellegent for the society in which his lot was cast. His artistic judgment was unerring, being founded on the same power of analytic reasoning which enabled him to solve at a glance the most secret cryptogram. And all the while condemned to the most depressing drudgery and by nature wanting in the sympathetic sanity which we fine in most of the writers of very successful fiction. He resembles the school of swift in prevailing over men by strength rather than by love.

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* JERNINGHAM, Sir Hubert, K.C.M.G., now Governor of Trinidad.
CLODD, E., already mentioned.
HAWKINS, Rev. E., and his son A., better known as "Anthony Hope."

† Sáyad Ahmad, Sir, K.C.S.I., the famous Muhamadan Reformer and founder of the College at Aligarh of which Cottar Morison's son is now Principal.

Saturday, 29th—Finished F. Harrison's "Cromwell," a pleasant little study. Some of Oliver's work in Ireland admits of no palliation, and the author does well to glide over it. Few more shocking things than this of Drogheda;—"I believe all their friars were knocked on the head but two; the one of which was Father Peter, brother to the Lord Taaffe, whom the soldiers took, the next day, and made an end of." [*Cromwell to the Speaker*; Dublin, 17th September 1649] Few greater atrocities could have been committed than this cold-blooded murder of non-combatants; yet here we have the Commander-in-Chief reporting it in an Official Despatch, among the exploits of the army of which he is proud. Turn to Carlyle—who gives the above in full—one cannot but fear that the great Anti-Canter was in his own person a victim of a kind of Cant. What could be answered to an ingenuous young reader who should ask—what does the writer mean by "the Eternities," or even by such customary words as "God" or "The Bible?" Does he believe that it was such ideas as these present, in their usual acceptation, that made the Puritans prevail? The *trust* felt by them may—indeed must—have given them strength, albeit they did not understand the ideas implied as Carlyle did, for one; or perhaps as any educated man does at the present day. But main source of their strength lay elsewhere in earnestness, vigilance, prudence, and so forth. Depend upon it, capacity would weigh more than orthodoxy when Cromwell was choosing an agent or high officer. Warren Hastings, say, or Lord Wellesley, in India, went on such lines, as we all know; caring little for doctrine and its propagation. What then can we learn from Cromwell's Letters and from Carlyle's Comments, if it be not the value of *clear vision* and *confident courage*? One fancies something of the like in Abraham Lincoln: but it would not be right to conclude in favour of absolutism from such cases. The "Single Person" might be a Louis Quinze, or Balmaceda.

September, Tuesday, 1st.—To Inner Temple Hall, for opening of Oriental Congress.* Canon Taylor, Master of S. John's Cambridge, took the chair in the regretted absence of Lord Dufferin, and delivered the "inaugural" address.

Thursday, 3rd—Attended Congress; interesting address on Egyptian chronology and tombs, by Professor Petrie†. In the afternoon another meeting; Gayangos‡ in the chair gave a short address on the importance of conciliating Moslem opinion. Leitner did not, by any means, agree.

* Much discussion arose as to whether this might be the true Congress or no? Dr. Leitner's energy, however, succeeded in getting valuable support.

† Petrie, William Matthew Flinders, University College, London.

‡ Don Pascual de *Gayangos*, oriental scholar, already mentioned.

Tuesday, 8th.—Caine's "Young India" a sincere and amiable aspect, but suggestive of grave questions. He says of the Congress—in substance—that it is either seditious and ought to be stopped, or else the Government should accept it as a means of enlightenment as to the position and prospects of the ruling race in India. If there be any preponderating hostility towards the Queen's rule among the people, then it may become necessary to reconsider and to ask what is the end and object of our civil and military establishments in that country? If merely the extension and security of our commerce, are we, or are we not, exceeding the exigencies?

Thursday, 10th.—The Orientalists wound up with a big dinner at "Tivoli" in the Strand, Sir Lepel Griffin in the chair Dinner tardy and ill served. Sate between Dennehy* and Father V. d' Eremas.†

Monday, 14th.—The old soldiers from over the way crowding the smoking and billiard rooms at Athenæum; which has been beautifully decorated by Alma Tadema.

Wednesday, 16th.—Have been on a short visit to Tunbridge Wells where I was a boy so long ago. Everything as pretty as of old, only all so *shrunk*. The famous Pantiles do not really cover quarter of the area of the Crystal Palace at Norwood. But the beautiful Commons, on Mt. Ephraim and Rusthall, remain; with their wide sweep of view over Eridge, Broadwater and Buckhurst, backed by Crowborough Beacon.

Friday, 18th.—Interesting conversation with Herbert Spencer at the Athenæum: he was in good form and spoke of himself and other distinguished men with impressive frankness. Of Huxley he said "that man, with independent means, would have been the greatest of Biologists"—on being reminded of the common notion that poverty was the stimulus of exertion, he replied that it was not so when a man needed means and leisure to enable him to make original research and establish an unpopular position: having to provide for the daily wants of themselves and families they simply could not afford to follow out their natural destiny. He also pointed out the field awaiting any one who could devote himself to a thorough scrutiny of the older statute-books in order to find out why the more important Acts had been introduced and why other Acts had been repealed. Here, he said, you ought to discover the Social History of our nation.

[A blank time. A few invitations to country-houses, none of which I could accept. Read a little, but without plan or

* Old Indian acquaintances. Gen. Sir Thomas Dennehy, K.C.I.E., have been a groom-in waiting to Her Majesty since 1888.

† D' Eremas was a well-known Clergyman of the Romish Church, now deceased.

purpose, and did a little work for *Chambers' Encyclopædia.* My second son, Major A. C. Keene, D.S.O., had a Depôt at Seaforth, near Liverpool; and he came to visit us. We went to some theatres together, but there was not much of importance: Miss Rehan, we admired, but the pieces were nought. Read Merivale's "Roman Empire."]

October, Monday, 3rd.—M. M. de L. called, a man of some ability, born in one country, educated in another; a retired officer from the French army bringing up his son to be an Anglican Clergyman. Heard particulars of Boulanger's end: in some respects he reminds one of what Caius Marius might have been had he not conquered the Barbarian invaders. Jugurtha, on the other hand, finds a modern anti-type in Tantia Topi, the Maharatta hunted down by Sir Hugh Rose in 1858. My reading in Merivale suggests these parallels—which are but in one's own imagination probably.

Friday, 9th.—Mrs. C.'s afternoon: a brazen sort of woman brought a quiet looking girl, as a medium, whom she put through some hyprotic evolutions which might, one thought, be only acting: and one rather hoped so, as it was otherwise rather shocking to see a young creature in such object control of another.

Tuesday, 13th.—Some smart little articles, from a newspaper, on famous contemporaries just out in book form. Some of the political judgments are rather impudent; as when Mr. Gladstone is said to have "the brain of a third rate Ecclesiastic."

Sunday, 18th.—Read a book on Mahommedanism by Mr. Justice Amir Ali; pleased to find so enlightened a Moslem corroborate the view that I had submitted to the Oriental Congress.*

Friday, 23rd.—Mrs. A. Besant lectured, for our Society, on Theosophy. The Rev. R. B. at the conclusion asked a pertinent question: seeing that the lady had already been an Evangelical, a Puseyite, and a Materialist, he would be glad to know whether she had better evidence for her present opinions than for those which she had successively abandoned? The somewhat indignant reply was a debater's triumph, but did not meet the point.

* Subsequent records occur of a long examination of this remarkable work ("Spirit of Islam"). It should be read by every impartial friend of India: it shows that the worst faults usually attributed to Islam do not belong to the system but to the backward races by whom it has been adopted. [Was not "the system" the product of such a race?—unless, as he stated, a renegade *Armenian* monk was the real author of the Koran. Has either our friend, or Mr. Amir Ali ever heard of this?—it is not an "open secret," but yet pretty well known.—ED., *C. R.*]

Monday, 26th.—Merivale on Domitian points out a danger of despotism which has often been illustrated since. The Despot, in securing a tottering throne, has to enter on military undertakings, until he finds himself "the actual leader of a horde of organised banditti."

Tuesday, 27th.—Thorold Rogers' Worcester lectures, make one *think*: the greatest use of a book. Charles Lamb affected the opposite attitude, saying that "books thought for him."

November, Tuesday, 3rd.—Mr. Haweis came to lecture for our Society on music: very clever and amusing* His violin is superb, and he illustrated what he had to say with great skill and taste. He joined us at B.'s afterwards, where we had supper and a good talk.

Wednesday, 4th.—A good article on Islam in the 254th Number of the *Quarterly* by the late E. Deutsch.

Saturday, 7th.—Dined at O'Callaghan's, meeting Dr. Busteed:† a very agreeable and well-informed man.

Tuesday, 17th.—Mr. S. R. Gardiner lectured on the constitutional experiences of the Commonwealth; a subject on which he is considered the greatest living authority.

December, Tuesday, 8th.—Lecture by Dr. Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon, a genial prelate with a slight Irish accent, and a sort of confidential fluency told anecdotes of Gautama, the Founder of Buddhism, winding up by comparing him to Jesus: of course, to the disadvantage of the Indian teacher of the real merits of his system, or why—after being made the state-religion—it lost hold of the land of its original success wandering to barbarous nations who turned it into image worship and mechanic ritual, of all this the Rt. Rev. Lecturer had no account to give.

An English officer who was present discussed these questions with some shrewdness on our way home; suggesting that Buddhism was too pure for human practice, and—in alloying itself with legend and thaumaturgy—entered into rivalry with popular Indian creeds by which it was overpowered. But in other countries, which had not such a complete Mythology or such a populous Pantheon, it met with better fortune. It is as if Missionaries were to propagate some form of Christianity amongst Africans and Polynesians after it had been rejected by the educated and uneducated in Europe and America!

I noted to him one remarkable difference. The *ideal* of Christianity brought forth Heroes and World-betterers,

* HAWEIS, Rev. H. R., a well-known traveller and esteemed London Clergyman.

† BUSTEED, H. E., C.I.E., author of "Echoes from old Calcutta," a most interesting work that has gone through three editions.

Buddhism could produce nothing greater than Hermits, Quietists, and other admirable but not very useful characters

Friday, 18*th*.—Called on Mrs. Keeley, the retired actress, whose first appearance was in the year of my own birth, and whom I found most agreeable and active. She walked all the way downstairs from her drawing-room to open the front door when we left.*

Monday, 28*th*.—A family party at the Avenue Theatre, to see a clever but incoherent piece, by Mr. H. A. Jones, entitled "The Crusaders." It does not promise to last long, being too witty for the gallery and too ill-blended for the stalls. All our modern plays are open to one objection or other; this seems to incur both. I mean they are either too literary or too farcical.

[And to close these small beer chronicles for Ninety-one: during which little way has been made in any direction. I find a Sonnet, in my Diary, which looks as if a certain successful Periodical was beginning to be talked about: it is headed "To a Reviewer of Reviews."

There is likewise noted a remarkable forecast from W. Hazlitt:—"When a whole generation read they will read none but contemporary productions: the taste for literature becomes superficial as it becomes universal." Elsewhere; "I do not think altogether the worse of a book for having survived its author a generation or two: I have more confidence in the dead than in the living."

Old Sam Rogers used to say;—"When I hear a new book praised I go and read an old one."

In the present day our book-market is inundated with trumpery fiction, evidently produced for the railway stall and the third class passenger. This is called Literature.

The Sonnet runs as follows:—

Burster of open doors! When all is said—
Whether of truism or of paradox—
And aged gentlewomen have had their shocks,
The world, methinks, has very little sped.
What can it matter if your sheep unfed
Feed you, and Tommy Atkins has small pox
Or other, and the shrieking spinster mocks
To find a convict champion in her St—d?
Purblind enthusiast who has never learned
That visions won are but illusions lost.
And sickness is not cured by salving sores!
Man will not thrive from Nature's methods turned
Nor win Life's sweetness and not pay the cost. . .
And yet we like you well, Burster of open doors.]

* Mrs. Keeley (née Mary Goward) born 1806, widow of a once famous low-comedian. One of her daughters became the wife of Albert Smith of Mont Blanc celebrity.

CHAPTER X.

This year witnessed the short-lived recovery of the Gladstonian Liberals, who—with the help of the Irish Nationalists—regained a small majority at the General Election of July. Lord Salisbury resigned office, and was succeeded by Gladstone, pledged to pass a Home-Rule Bill for Ireland.

The family centre remained throughout the year at Norwood, a neighbourhood combining many of the advantages of London with the invaluable blessing of country air to sleep in. Our great Metropolis has been for many generations the habitation of so many multitudes, through whose lungs the air has been passing and repassing, that it must have lost almost all vitalising properties; a state of things that cannot yet have reached the higher-lying suburbs.

For my own part, I continued to frequent the Athenæum and the Savile, places in which one enjoys the attitude, most blest and beneficial, of looking *up* to the men by whom one it environed.

Among the advantages of Norwood was the privilege of being easily able to sit under the Rev. S. Tipple, one of the most eloquent and earnest of preachers, and much admired by the late Dean Stanley. His Church was attended by young men to an extent quite unusual in our times. I was much exercised during the year about an "Institute of mercantile instruction" which came to nought early in 1893: and also occupied with a student's History of India, published in the same year (W. H. Allen & Co., 1893, 2 vols.).

January, Wednesday, 6th.—Interesting article in the *Contemporary* on the work of the late E. de Laveleye on Democracy.* No writer appears to have paid due attention to the fact that in most modern nations a conquering race is still fusing itself—slowly or swiftly—with a race more germane to the country, and gradually giving way before the regeneration of the latter, or—in some happier cases—voluntarily admitting the aborigines to equal rights. Social democracy has been disarmed in England by the last named process; carried on from the days when the Barons extorted the Great Charter from King John to the time when Grey and Russell carried Reform in 1832. In the older Commonwealths—in India, Greece, Rome—the dominant class united with the higher plebeians, to form a new aristocracy, while the bulk of the population were slaves or unenfranchised for political purposes until some revolutionary change. But in Great Britain enfranchisement has been natural, gradual, and—ultimately—

* Laveleye was a Belgian economist of distinction (1822 1892). See Life by Count Goblet d'Alviella: Paris, 1895.

universal. True Liberalism has thus, with us, conformed to evolution ; the nation has become a united whole, and privilege has been neutralised less by destruction than by communication.

Thursday, 7th.—A visit from Mme. de T., a Russian lady of French extraction, very charming and intelligent. She gave a dark picture of the social condition of her country, saying that there was room for serious alarm lest the peasantry should be frightened into outbreaks. They are found (since the emancipation of the serfs) refusing to labour and claiming that it is the business of the Government to support them : the inability of the priests to direct and control the people is much lamented

Saturday, 9th.—Took two Russian ladies to the New Gallery in Regent Street, where some of the pictures impressed them.

Sunday, 17th.—Went with A. to see Miss Lowe. We found a large gathering, in which were included both the Palmists already mentioned—Miss E., the Amateur Propetess, who told my fortune and the professional soothsayer whom Col. C. consulted at Mrs. M. K.'s in the summer. We seem to be in a somewhat similar way to that of the Romans in the climax of their prosperity as described by Horace and Juvenal.

Saturday, 23rd.—Courteous letter from Sir H. C., whose little book on Lord Canning I had reviewed, asking me for all possible corrections. Now, his book was very able, as was only to be expected ; and my carpings were only directed to matters of detail, which the author might have fairly passed over. As my only possible return for his courtesy and candour I will send him my copy with annotations. The case is an illustration of the effect of *signed* Reviews, and not at all matters for regret.

Saturday, 1st.—Another pleasant letter from C. returning my book and saying that "the criticisms have been of great use." It has been one of the Amenities of Literature.

Tuesday, 2nd.—Purification of B. V. M. Candlemas day was marked by a good deal of "wet and foul," according to the old Scots legend "the half of winter was over at Yule." We shall see. Curiously, a people so remote, and with a climate so different as the Italians said :—*Si sol splendescat Maria purificante Major erit glacies post festam quàm fiat ante.*

Wednesday, 3rd.—Dictionary dinner given by Mr. G. Smith in Park Lane : a splendid house and wonderful banquet. Leslie Stephen and Dr. Jessopp made excellent speeches ; and the host, addressing his contributors, announced his intention of carrying out the *D. N. B.* whatever it might cost him, and told a story of poor M. Arnold. It was to this effect. Arnold rushed into his office one day saying that somebody at the Athenæum had just spoken of him as "the greatest poet of the age." On Mr. G. asking if he thought that such a statement could possibly be sincere ? A. re-

plied, "Oh! I don't know whether it was sincere, but I know that I liked it."

Sunday, 7th.—Called at Sir G. Campbell's: no one there.*

Monday, 8th.—Corrected proofs of a little book for Indian Press. It is too short; I suppose I was afraid of being tedious. But then there is the case of George Canning's preacher who—in spite of brevity—"*was* tedious."

Monday, 15th.—In spite of Mary's omen the winter is not over. If the birds paired yesterday they will be repenting their precipitation to-day.

Sunday, 28th.—A dull cold day; went to Church and heard a capital sermon, by Tipple, on the "blameless brother" in the parable of Prodigal Son. Whether it was quite sound I will not undertake to say; but it was certainly ingenious, explaining the adage, "The greater the sinner the greater the saint." The young man who resented his father's reception of the returning penitent may have been morally perfect; but what can be more intolerant (or indeed more intolerable) than moral perfection? So argued the preacher, sending away the numerous sinners of his congregation in the confirmed persuasion that it was better to be sympathetic than sinless.

Monday, 29th.—Manns' Rossini concert. It was the centenary of the Master's birth—though anything but his 100th birthday;† counting by those anniversaries he would have been barely twenty-five! Perhaps Mr. Manns would have preferred some other subjects; nevertheless the concert was most charming; the elegant melodies and the intricate orchestration could not fail to captivate. Miss Thudichum gave *Di piacer* and *una voce*, but none of Rossini's sacred music was offered.

March, Tuesday, 1st.—March comes in like a Beast of some sort, if not exactly a lion; east wind, sleet, and a finish of snow. In the evening I lectured, for our local Society; to a large audience, many of whom were indulgent enough to complain of the shortness of the affair, though I am ashamed to say I spoke for an hour. My subject was the Mutiny: how little one could then have expected to be prosing about it in the shadow of the Crystal Palace when surrounded by all those horrors and cares thirty-five years ago.

Thursday, 3rd.—Wintry weather continues. In the afternoon, returning from a walk found a decent looking woman, with a baby, making a pretence of selling oranges. E. gave her tea and she told her story—sad, if true, as it seemed to be. Her husband laid up in hospital and the guardians tell her to go to her parish, which is in Wales. She does not

* Alas! my friend was at that moment on his death-bed in the South of France. A gifted man who never quite came to maturity.

† Rossini, G. A., *b.* at Pesaro, 29th February 1792 (leap year).

care to go so far away and desires to await her husband's discharge from Croydon Hospital, eking out her own living by the paltry and precarious trade in which we find her engaged. There must be many such; but when you see one meekly-seated on your own doorstep, with the east wind flinging the blizzard into her pinched face—there is something in the recollection of the question, "who is my neighbour?"

Sunday, 6th.—Another sermon in continuation of the last. Mr. T. will have to whitewash the Saint next. Called in the afternoon upon a lady who has been ill, and who asked pathetically, if her good looks would ever return? This is the Nemesis of Beauty's Day.

Wednesday, 9th.—Reading Pascal: he must have been mad: but the notion is humiliating. Here is a mathematician and a wit, failing to be practically useful to mankind: he exemplifies the danger of extremes, even in so vital a virtue as conscience. After all, as my present pastor tells us, the world wants a religion of love, not of opinion.

April, Tuesday, 5th.—At Athen. Interesting talk with Giffen,* who seemed to regard the monetary condition of the United States with some anxiety, inasmuch as their paper issue was equal to their gold. He believed that the output of silver-mines would decrease, perhaps cease; nevertheless the Indian Government would do well to adopt a gold currency.† He also thought it a question whether Peel, in reforming the common law, might not have retain a five-shilling duty: for which however it was now too late.

Thursday, 14th.—A. talk with L. about a Commercial school on a somewhat novel basis.

Saturday, 16th.—Eleven degrees of frost this morning!

Tuesday, 19th.—Diffugere nives. A pleasant change of weather. A funny sample of the criticism of smart young men in the——‡ where my French manual is said to be written by a Philistine for Philistines, and quite on the level of University Extension.

Wednesday, 20th.—Called on Sir H. R. once "King of Kumaon" now tenant of a small semi-detached house in this suburb. *Les Rois en exile* might be rewritten in English. And time was when *Le Nabab* was the appropriate title for men of the same class!

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* G., Sir Robert, K.C.B., the well-known economist.

† As it did some years later, in a modified form (1900).

‡ A weekly paper, now extinct. These organs of literary judgment are of all sorts; and probably the critics do not do much more than they must for their money. A successful author once told me that when he used to do such work he was instructed by his editor not to cut the pages of books sent him for review as it *spoiled the sale*.

Monday, 25th.—Article in the January *Quarterly* on Hafiz, by a writer who is quite clever, but does not seem to know much Persian, or ever to have heard of Omar Khayyam.

May, Monday, 2nd.—L. called with Prospectus of the 'Institute:" I advised him to have it printed with estimates. He is clever and pushing, and I think his scheme deserves well.

Saturday, 7th.—Called on L. and assisted in sketching a scheme for high-class commercial education.

Sunday, 8th.—Reading the Vulgate came on a curious passage on Inspiration of which the literal English is—"she can change all things; and transferring herself into holy souls among the gentiles creates friends of God and Prophets," (Sap. VII, 27). Strange to find a Hebrew writer of Maccabean times going so far as to admit the existence of prophets among the gentiles (*per nationes*).

Monday, 9th.—Went with L. to Streatham Common to see a house he thinks of taking for the Institute.

Wednesday, 18th—A visit from a young M. Viard ("de La Revue de France") introduced by Mrs. R. Clay. A very pleasant, well-informed man, whose mother is a well-known musician.

Saturday, 21st—Hawkins came down from S. Bride's and we went over L.'s proposed premises on Streatham Common which seemed very suitable. There is to be a small company of which I am to be a Director. The idea is to get together a number of youths of good position and teach them modern languages, and other kinds of knowledge to fit them for commercial and consular work in foreign countries. It cannot be denied that there is a want of such an establishment.

Tuesday, 27th.—Called at Murray's: Mr. M. seemed quite satisfied with the French manual, and the Educational Press was the only one that could affect the sale of such a book as mine. He showed me a notice in *The Schoolmaster* in which the little work was welcomed as supplying "a much-needed element in English culture."*

Thursday, 26th.—Two neighbours met L. at this house to hear about his scheme. They thought the undertaking on too small a scale, and were not satisfied with the argument that the initial outlay would be so trifling that it was useless to raise much money.

Thursday, 31st.—Went to town with Conan Doyle,† attending a dinner of authors at the Holborn Restaurant. Professor M. Foster in the chair.‡ Sate between Mr. Julian Sturgis and

* There was a notice in the *Scotsman* that was quite sympathetic, and the American Press used flattering language.

† Dr. Doyle, nephew of the famous "Dicky" of Punch, and author of so many clever fictions was then our neighbour and friend.

‡ Now Sir M. Foster, M. P., for London University.

Miss Y. Hunt, the clever daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A. Hunt.* Met Harry Jones, Du Maurier, W. Besant, Mrs. L. Linton, Nettleship of Balliol, and Clodd. The speaking very good especially by the Chairman, and Mr. Stockton, author of "Rudder Grange." Corney Grain sang some songs with great spirit, accompanying himself on an excellent pianoforte provided for the purpose. These dinners are very pleasant, though some of the company seemed to think they would prefer a conversazione where you could move about and mix more freely. The price of the tickets is generally thought too high.

June, Wednesday, 8th.—A long day. Went to Egham by G. W. R. and had the prospect of a hot walk to Englefield Green, but a pleasant young lady in a wagonette took pity on me and conveyed me and my bag the greater part of the way. Found the Archdeacon at work in his pretty house; and after some tea walked through the Park, by Windsor and Eton to Slough, where I dined and slept. The Park is lovely in this season of sun and shadow.†

Saturday, 11th.—A mild showery day; passed, mostly, in the house: comparing M. Arnold with Voltaire, especially in respect to their dramas on the subject of Merope. The Englishman's tone is the more graceful; and the Frenchman's workmanship more finished and strong. The ethnologic problems did not occur to V., but he might have worked out the other motives and given more effect to the feelings of the persons. In A.'s drama you have a distinct attempt to exhibit character. The stories in verse of the earlier author could not have been produced by our English contemporary, and the attacks on Rousseau and Fréron would hardly have found a publisher—one hopes—in modern London: nor would Arnold have so departed from his urbanity as to make them.

Wednesday, 15th.—The weather has turned cold in the last few days with a somewhat bitter N. wind.

Trouble about shares in Institute, and doubts as to its ultimate success.

Saturday, 18th.—To the temporary office of the Company, met other Directors and signed the papers of association. Mr. C. did not appear sanguine as to sale of shares.

Monday, 20th.—A visit from L. Very buoyant about early opening and declares that he has already the promise of many boarders.

Saturday, 25th.—Invited to C.'s at Aldeburgh, prevented

* Mr Hunt was an artist and his wife wrote novels.

† The Ven Archdeacon Baly held—as he still holds—the chaplaincy at Englefield Green, an ideal cure, where his parishioners consist mainly of the Rangers and keepers of the Royal Forest.

from going by business connected with Institute. Great crowd at Palace in the afternoon. *Judas Maccabeus.*

Wednesday, 29th.—Pleasant day after a night of storm. First meeting of Directors; Gen. C. J., Messrs. M.* D., and C. (the latter a Portuguese Jew). Formal proceedings.

Thursday, 30th.—Inaugural dinner of Authors' Club, Mr. Oswald Crawford in the chair. Besant made a very pleasant speech and read a list of absent members. Most of those present were (like myself) non-entities. The Club is at a temporary house in St. James's Place; nearly opposite what used to be Lord Tweeddale's.

July, Monday, 4th.—Wrote some letters on behalf of the Institute, which is rather hanging fire.

Wednesday, 6th.—To Brockwell Park with children. An old mansion and walled garden in large and beautiful grounds. In one's youth such places were inhabited and enjoyed by private families—indeed a few still are, like Holland House and Chiswick. But by degrees they all come to minister to the health and happiness of many thousands. One hears the cry—"Oh! how sad to see these beautiful homes empty of their owners;" but it is not so. You see the children at their games on the grass, and the parents seated under the old elms; and you remember that but for such pleasantness as these, all would be sweltering and swearing in city courts and cellars, without a notion of the shape of a tree or the colours of the sunset.

Thursday, 14th.—Asked the C. S. Commissioners to patronise my "History of India."* Afternoon at Mr. C. M.'s in Weymouth Street, where I was introduced to a charming Yankee lady Mr. Ward Howe.

August, Saturday, 13th.—*Revue des deux mondes* has a wonderful article of admiration and respect for Gladstone. How far does a French writer of high class represent the opinion of our affairs that will be held by History?

Friday, 26th.—Ah out-of-the-way experience in dining with some friends who live at a "Swagger" Boarding-house where the Manager and his wife play at being a lady and gentleman entertaining a party of guests.

Sunday, 28th.—L. reports having sold a thousand shares to a Mr. H.——*Nous verrons.*

September, Sunday, 18th.—Took G., my ten-year old, to service at St. Paul's. On departing I asked how he had enjoyed the music? He answered, with a look of reproach that it was a thing in which he took no interest. In the afternoon had a talk with

* It was made a text-book for C. S. examinations, but unhappily the subject was disestablished a year or two later.

young Viard, who raised a point in respect of the impropriety of rendering French words by the same words of our own language. *Homme de genie*, he maintained ought to be translated "greatman" and not "man of genius;" the phrase with them indicating a person who moved mankind, while in English it gave him the idea of a person of ill-balanced mind or hypertrophe of certain faculties to the detriment of others. [Buffon, by the bye, gives his definition of genius as "nothing but a great capacity of patience:" this seems the source of Carlyle's famous saying.]

Saturday, 24th.—Sir A. A. at Athenæum: thought the new rules for Indian C. S. examinations would be favourable to crammers. Also that Lord Salisbury was disposed towards a decentralising of Indian Governments on lines similar to those advocated by John Bright. [This ought to be so, if any further progress is to be made.—ED.] Weather very warm.

October, Monday, 3rd.—Interesting talk with old Richmond, who went through a Portfolio of his sketches of celebrities of the early Victorian epoch: how great a change in half a century!

Thursday, 6th.—Dinner at Mr. B.'s to meet Sir John Lubbock: thence with him to the Blind School where he gave a lecture, on *Ants*, to a crowded audience.

Saturday, 15th.—Meeting Lord M. just over from Ireland, I asked if there was a troublesome winter expected there. "Divvel a worse," he replied gaily. He was at a wedding the other day in Dublin; and when the bride and bridegroom left he said to Father H., who was standing by him at the door, that it was a pity they had nothing to throw after them. "'Tis a pity it can't be your *brogue*, M.," was the quick reply.

Monday, 17th.—L. affirms that he has now sold 2,500 shares, which would give him a fair capital to start with, at £5 the share.

November, Wednesday. 2nd.—A good meeting at Blind School, to hear Conan Doyle, who read an excellent paper on George Meredith's writings: few of the large audience had read them I fear; perhaps they will do so now.

Tuesday, 15th.—Wrote a short review of a long book: it is by a Mr. Herbert Compton, and deals with some of the military Adventures of India in the last century: it shows research and labour, but I found it too wordy and prolix for the subject. I fear the British public is too indifferent to Indian History for such an undertaking to be very successful.

Friday, 18th.—With N. to a concert at S. James's Hall, Piccadilly. Maseagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* given by a Band of eighty stringed instruments with one row of wind, to give what is called colour. The music, so rendered, gave

one an impression of virile tenderness, not too pathetic and all the more agreeable.

Saturday, 19th.—Some of the family returned from a visit to Rochester where they had been guests at Restoration House and were shown an underground passage communicating with the river. This, they understood, had been prepared for the withdrawal of Charles II. if anything had gone wrong after his arrival from Dover in May, 1660.

Monday, 21st.—With A. to S. James's Theatre to see "Lady Windermere's fan:" *very* frivolous, but well played and full of sparkling paradox.

Hysterical letter from Managing-Director.

Wednesday, 23rd.—To office in pursuance of urgent call. Found matters at a standstill for want of £500. A talk of winding-up the Company and handing the whole concern to L. I said it would seem wise to do so if he could start without help.

December, Friday, 19th.—To Cornhill, where I met three of the Directors and recorded Resolutions as to allotment, etc. Nothing more about the 2,500 shares, but assurances of forty resident pupils.* We open on January 18th, and Grant Duff has kindly consented to take the chair.

Friday, 23rd.—Read Broadfoot's *Life*: he was a fine character. Yet there is something in the Anglo-Indian Hero of those days that causes offence. A sort of ill-bred sternness and self-conscious austerity; so different from their predecessors, the jovial Malcolm or the urbane Elphinstone. Can it have been due to the evangelical training of the period? so long as religion was moderate—a thing for Sunday observance and social conformity, it kept people straight and sweet. But the Punjab Ironsides were otherwise minded. They were, no doubt, virtuous; but had little sympathy either for cakes and ale, or for any opinions but their own. Yet they did good work. [Your criticism is quite unjust. We knew several of them, and can say so. No one could be sweeter than Sir H. Edwardes, or Colonel Lake and others.—ED.]

(To be continued.)

* These eventually proved to be but two, of whom one was the Managing Director's son

ART. VIII.—TANTRA LITERATURE.

INDIA is rich in Sanscrit Literature. The number of works in the Sanscrit language is very great; and many of them are very valuable, highly prized, and widely known. They have been classified under various designations; and each class bears very distinctive marks as literature, not to speak of their religious characteristics. They constitute a large, and, on the whole, a highly-respected family with marked family traits of character. The Tantra class is the Cinderella of the family or what with Hans Andersen, might be called the 'Ugly Duckling,' from the point of view of its own admirers—that is despised by the outside world, but regarded by the initiated as the premier literature of the world.

This literature has a special claim upon Bengal and its large Hindu population. It originated in Bengal. There it was born, nurtured and developed into maturity by men who are spoken of as "the dark philosophers of the forest," men who performed awful ceremonies away from human habitations, and who exercised stupendous influence on the ignorant masses around them. The foreign Brahmans who came from the north-west soon gave up their Vedas and accepted the Bengal religion; starting from the original Tantras they made various compilations, supplied additional mantras, Rishis and Devata of their own; the compilations were also born in Bengal. The character in which both the originals and the compilations were written, is the Bengali and not the Devanagri. They are still found in the Bengali character. The authors were men as we have just seen who lived in the forests or jungles of Bengal—"forest men." Their works are known in other parts of India as the "the Bengal shastras." The bulk of those who profess to be guided in their religious devotions are Bengalis; and most of the MSS. to this day are found in Bengal. The Bengal Pundits look upon Vedic and Puranic literature as foreign, as undoubtedly it is. Not one of the great works which go under the name of Vedic or Puranic was composed in Bengal or by a Bengali; while these same pundits look upon the Tantras as their own, as their predecessors for many centuries have done.

The learned Editor of the *Mahanirvana Tantra*, Mr. M. N. Dutta, M.A., correctly describes them as "pre-eminently a product of the soil of Bengal." At the beginning of the century which has just closed, not a copy of the Vedas could be found in all Bengal, for the simple reason that there was none. The literature in vogue was Tantric. In an official report of the Bengal Library we read:—"Some of the Bengal pundits are

making their voices heard. These never depended upon works that have been recently imported into Bengal under foreign influences, such as the Vedas and the Upanishads; and they now come forward to defend their ancient religious works, the Tantras. Pundit Shib Chunder Vidyarnava's work, *Tantra tattva*, running through 762 pages of royal octavo, is an elaborate and a masterly defence of the Tantras. The Tantras, he says, are an authority in themselves; and it would be foolish to attempt to prove their authoritativeness. He in fact places the Tantras in the same position as the Vedas, and the pundits of Bengal always believed this to be true. Under the same influence, and very likely by the same pundits, a monthly periodical was started in Calcutta, a few years ago, called *Sarva Mangala* (The all auspicious), to advocate the cause of Tantric Hindusim, which says the Bengal Librarian, "is prevalent in Bengal."

The Tantras themselves claim that for the Kali Yuga, the Tantras have completely superseded the Vedic Scriptures; that the latter are but serpents without venom, mere pictures on walls inefficient for any good or bad purpose, or like a barren woman too old to justify any expectation of her adding to the population. After stating that in the Kali Age all the Tantric mantras "are fraught with fruit and yield speedy success, and are highly effectual in all sites, *japa*, sacrifices, &c.," the *Mahanirvana Tantra* proceeds:—"The mantras contained in the Vedas are devoid of all energy, and resemble serpents devoid of venom. In the Satya and other ages, they were effective; in Kali, they are as it were dead. All the mantras (save those inculcated in the Tantras) resemble idols painted against a wall, which albeit furnished with all the organs, are incompetent to perform any action. Acts performed to other mantras are like a barren woman. They yield no fruit." ii., 14-17. The great ceremonies of the Durga Pujah, Jagaddhatri Pujah, Kali Pujah, &c., are all Trantric and essentially Bengali and occupy the place of the great Srauta ceremonies of the Vedas.

As to the *age of the Tantras*, it must be admitted that they are not so venerable as the Vedas or Upanishads. Still, those which are called *original*, and they number at least sixty-four in all, go back to the fifth or sixth century A.D., a millenium and a half; and the oldest of these may go back even further. The higher antiquity claimed is not made good by any satisfactory evidence. The Buddhists of Nepal, who possess Tantras of their own not only father them on Buddha, the founder of their religion, in imitation of the Hindu Tantras fathered on Mahadeva, but they actually name a Buddhist monk who, they say, introduced the Tantras into Nepal about 300 A.D.

Scholars find it difficult to date, even with approximation either the original works or the oldest of the subsequent compilations, not to speak of the ideas which characterise them or the system of religion which they teach. While there is a general consensus that some of the compilations are very modern, yet there is also a general agreement that most of the compilations even are older than the Mahommedan conquest of Bengal in 1203 A.D. One of these comparatively recent ones, but a pre-Mahommedan one, enumerates as many as one hundred and sixty Tantric works, including both original and compilations, upon which the author professes to have drawn for his materials. The dated works do not go further back than the eighth century A.D., but the dates of others by different lines of argumentation are pushed back as far as the sixth century.

Tantric worship, so far as it is phallic and founded on the dualism of sex, is regarded as having its roots embedded in ideas as old as India itself, if not as old as the race, and founded on wonder and awe generated by a contemplation of the distinctive and mysterious functions of man and woman, and the fertility of nature alike in the vegetable and animal world. The ideas thus generated have arisen in various and very distant parts of the world, among very different people or races and tribes, and at different and most remote periods of time. Again, at different and less remote periods of time these ideas became formulated into religious beliefs; and still later and in comparatively modern times the beliefs got materialized into MSS. In this respect the Tantras are believed to differ in their development from the Vedas. The latter, it is believed, took some two or three thousand years to materialize into MSS.; the Tantras, on the other hand, it is believed, were written shortly after being conceived; so that as far as Bengal is concerned, the Tantras were in the country before the Vedas were and the Tantric religion before the Vedic. The stories based on *Brihat Katha* in which the worship of the female divinities is so clearly inculcated goes back to the fourth if not to the third century A.D. The Buddhist translations of Hindu Tantras takes us back to the eighth or ninth century.

But it may be asked, if so old, why are not MSS. of that age forthcoming. We have many such in Europe and much older. This is explained easily by the humidity of the climate of Lower Bengal, the fertility of destructive insects, the backward condition of education among the masses, and the poverty of the pundits and gurus, the ordinary custodians of MSS. Not a single MS. has yet been discovered on the humid plains of Bengal older than the fourteenth century. On the other

hand MSS. written in Bengal a good few centuries before the fourteenth have been found in Nepal, by Pundit H. P. Shastri, Principal Sanscrit College, for example a MS. copy of *Langkdvatard*, a Hindu Tantric work on medicine, written in 908 A.D., was found by him in the Durbar Library, Nepal.

Another Tantric work, *Nishvásatattva Sanhita*, exhibiting some of the earliest phases of Tantric development, was also discovered in the same library. Mr. Shastri concludes from peculiarities in the handwriting that it was written at least one hundred years earlier. That sends it back to 800 A.D. Unlike most Tantras, the interlocutors are not deities but human Rishis, who wonder at the introduction of a new method of initiation unknown in the Vedas. Brahma and Vishnu are said to have received the new initiation, but not Siva. As a Tantric work, it is, as usual, devoted to the glorification of Siva. Its name *Sanhita* gives some indication of its date. The *Mahanirvana Tantra* states that the works followed or received as sacred in the Satya Yuga were the Vedas; in the Treta Yuga, the Smritis; in the Dvapara Yuga, the *Sanhitas*; and in the Kali Yuga, the Agâmâs. This is one of these *Sanhitas*. These works, we quote Mr. Shastri, seem latterly to have assumed the form of pure Tantras, called Agâmâs and Nigamas in the passage in the *Mahanirvana Tantra*. The *Parmeshvari Tantra* MS. in Cambridge is dated 857 A.D. This date puts a lately discovered MS. of the Skanda Purana back to 657 A.D.

Another Tantric MS. of *Kulalikamnya*, also discovered by Mr. Shastri, is believed to be still older, taking us back to 699 A.D. The work forms a part of a large work on the worship of Kubjika (a form of Kali), a Tantra absolutely forgotten, until thus in part discovered, but which had an important place in Bengal literature about 1000 years ago. The interlocutors are Siva and Durga. The modern Tantric technicalities do not apply to this MS. Yoga (as in *Siva Sanhita*) is not regarded as the principal thing; its efficacy is beset with doubts. But, adds Mr Shastri, the science comprehended in 24,000 slokas, that is in the larger work, or even in the smaller, that before us which is regarded as its essence and contains 6,000 slokas, is, we are assured, of undoubted efficacy. All these marks stamp it as a genuine work of Tantra. Mr. Shastri discovered other four MSS. of this work, later and smaller, in one of which Kubjika herself is the chief interlocutor. Her object or the subject of her enquiry, is to know the Pithas, the right hand and the left hand forms of worship and the Kula shastra generally. These four MSS. are dated from 1135 to 1179 respectively.

Well may Mr. Shastri conclude that the discovery of these

MSS. prove the fact that the Puranas and Tantras are not so modern as some people think them to be, and that the Indian tradition is not so utterly unreliable as it is considered in many quarters. It is such discoveries, and Mahamahopadhyay H. P. Shastri has made many such, which makes history, and not statements like those we find in the two short paras. headed "*Tantras*" in the three volumed "*History of Civilization in Ancient India* by Mr. R. C. Dutta, C.I.E. Professor Dutta describes the Tantras in these two brief paras. as "the Hindu literature in the period of the Mahommedan rule," "creations of the last period of Hindu degeneracy under a foreign rule," and yet again as "the product of the last stage of degeneracy after centuries of foreign subjection," and of a period "when the national life had departed, when all political consciousness had vanished and the lamp of knowledge had become extinct." These words may be rhetoric, they are not history. The key word seems to be *foreign*. It is a red-rag to Mr. Dutta. The two paras. are not creditable to the historian of India, or to the Professor of the History of India in University College, London. Why, the Tantras were composed when Bengal was in its glory, when it had a national life if ever it had one; when its independence was not questioned; when the Sena kings were patrons of learning and one of them, himself, an accomplished scholar, when Jayadeva the court poet wrote *Gitagovinda* and a court minister the *Brahmana Sarbasa* and the Tantras themselves, the later ones were composed in Sanscrit not to be despised.

Bengal, it cannot be forgotten, was not invaded by the Mahommedans till 1203 A.D., centuries after the last of the sixty-four original Tantras was in circulation among the people. Before 1203, Bengal had enjoyed four dynasties of independent sovereigns; and it was during the earlier of these that the original Tantras were written. Of one of these kings, Deva Pal Deva, it is said, that he reigned over the whole of India. In any case he must have been acknowledged as a Maharaja Adhiraj. It was about the tenth century, A.D., that the five Brahmans were brought from Kanouj to Bengal by the Bengali king Adisura. It was they indeed who introduced into Bengal Brahmanic civilization and the Vedic religion, the latter only to die very soon thereafter. Mr. R. C. Dutta is also wandering a little when he wrote in the same paras.—"The number of Tantras is said to be sixty-four; we have seen many of them which have been published in Calcutta"; so wrote Mr. Dutta, in 1890, when not one of the sixty-four had been published. Most of the 64 are irrecoverably lost. So it is believed by those who have paid most attention to the subject. Among these I place Pundit Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., who deserves to be as fully

honoured for his successful Literary Research as others have been for their Physical Research. In the course of three years he discovered and wrote Notices of 1,400 Sanscrit MSS, of sorts, including a hundred Tantras, original or compiled, found in Eastern Bengal. From among the 1,400 he purchased for Government 930 works including Buddhist MSS. from Nepal, some of them not only very rare but unique. But among them all was found not one Vedic MS. For as Mr. Shastri observes: "Living in the midst of strange and non-Brahmanic surroundings the descendants of the five Brahmans soon gave up the regular study of the Vedas, a single copy of which could not be found in all Bengal a hundred years ago, and confined their knowledge of these to the recital and proper understanding of a few mantras used in their religious sacraments. With the Vedas they gave up the study of the Upanishads and thus Vedanta Philosophy found no place in Bengal."

Then he proceeds to show that these very Brahmans naturally turned to the Tantras as works which bore a resemblance to the subject matter of the Vedic Brahmanas or ritual and to the contents of the Atharva Veda. It is to this Brahmanic influence that Bengal is indebted for the better Sanscrit of the Tantric compilations and their more orderly and logical arrangement of material. The influence of the Tantras on Buddhism on the other hand was so great that in every collection of Buddhist works is found a number of Tantras. This is seen not only by the discoveries of Mr. H. P. Shastri in Nepal, but also those of Dr. R. L. Mitra, C.I.E. Tantricism itself received a powerful impulse from Krishnananda Agamvagisha, a contemporary of Raghunandan. It is also interesting to observe that the more one goes eastward and northward towards the Brahmaputra the more one meets with a larger number of Tantric works, till one reaches Kamrup which is regarded as the Mecca or Benares of Tantricism. And yet Mr. Shastri has it that no complete copy of any one original Tantra as noted above has yet been found, or, if so, only in fragments.

As to whether the Tantras, as Mr. Dutta says, "present us with a stranger aberation of human fancy and human credulity" "developed into monstrous forms," and "give us elaborate accounts of dark, cruel and obscene practices . . . unwholesome practices and unholy rites," and as to whether or not "to the historian the Tantra literature represents not a special phase of human thought, but a diseased form of the human mind," it is not for us here and now to say. It would require a separate treatment. But this we may be allowed to say that, good or bad, they cannot be fathered on the Mahommedan or the foreigner. They are pure natives of Bengal, as we have already attempted to show. Hence it is that

natives of intelligence and of that patriotism which see no evil or wrong in whatever belongs to their own country, forgetting that what is not true is not patriotic, as Sir Madhava Row has so beautifully expressed it, take up so vigorously the opposite side to Mr. R. C. Dutta. There, for example, is Mr. M. N. Dutta, M.A., M.R.A.S. (Shastri), who affirms that the system taught in the Tantras "yields in merit and excellence to no other department of ancient Hindu thought." *Mahanirvana Tantra*, p. i.

Returning to our discussion of the age of the Tantras, it is interesting to observe that Mr. Manmatha Dutta in his introduction to the Tantra not only admits that it is very difficult to ascertain the date of the composition of this class of literature, and he might add of all ancient Sanscrit literature; he also, after a full consideration of different facts and with different Tantras before him, arrives at what is to all intents Mr. H. P. Shastri's conclusions. "Tantra," says he, "does not find room amongst the fourteen branches of literature mentioned in the old Smritis. Besides, its name does not occur in any of the great Puranas." He rejects the argument founded on the similarity of certain processes found in it resembling those found in the Atharva Veda; and he might in the same way reject an argument founded on Vedic mantras being found in some Tantras. The Tantric characteristic found in *Nri-singha-tāpāniy-opanishad* of the Arthava Veda annotated by Sankaracharjya, indicate a knowledge of the Tantric system, and consequently prove that it was in existence in the days of the great controversialist, and that means before the seventh century of the Christian era. "Besides, some of the Buddhist Tantras were translated into Tibetan between the ninth and the eleventh century; Hindu Tantras were their models and must have consequently been in existence anterior to them. These Hindu Tantras must have therefore been written before" the seventh century, and others long before that, say the fifth or sixth century.

There are two Puranic passages which go a little in support of the same conclusion. In the *Srimad-bhagavat*, Nandi is reported as cursing the followers of Siva, in the words:— "May those who observe vows in honour of Mahadeva, and who follow him, pass by the name of *Pashandas*. Wearing matted locks and ashes, those men, shorn of pure conduct, and gifted with blunted intelligence, will worship Siva, in which wine is adorable, like a celestial. You have vilified Brahma, the Vedas, and Brahmans, the very honours of shastras and therefore I designate you *Pashandas*."

In the *Padma Purana*, there is a chapter on the Pishandas. Besides, Chaitanya used to call the Shaktas Pishandas. If the

Pishandas of these two Puranas were the Shaktas, as Chaitanya evidently believed, and as most likely they were, then the Tantras must have been in existence before the oldest of these Puranas was written.

Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose, author of "*Lord Gouranga* or salvation for all," and editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrica* is about as far off the lines of history, in the matter of the date and origin of the Tantras, as Mr. R. C. Dutta, C.I.E. At p. 202, vol. i, of his life of *Lord Gouranga*, he writes—"It is believed that this Tantric religion was invented to brutalize the Hindus so as to enable them to meet the Masulman invaders of the country. It is said that the spiritual Hindus found it impossible to cope with the brutalized Afghans and Moghuls who came from the west. What was required was to create a body of men equally brutal who should be able to meet them. And this Tantricism was invented for the purpose. Men were induced to join it by the mysteries which surrounded all the ceremonies, and the liberty that it permitted its votaries in the matter of eating, drinking and other illigitimate pleasures. They were further promised gifts from spirits and gods. Those who ranged themselves under this banner naturally became more brutal, if not stronger, than the other Hindus who lived sparingly and on strictly sober principles. The development of their brutal instincts was, of course, founded upon the ruins of their spiritual nature . . . Besides they entertained a particular hatred for the Vaishnavas. Indeed Tantrics, generally speaking, had a very low opinion of Vaishnavism which, they thought, was calculated to make men effiminate."

The key to the whole passage and to the theory it embodies is to be found in the concluding words. The Tantrics had no high opinion of the Vaishnavas, or of the new and foreign religion they were introducing into the country. And the feeling was reciprocated and has come to the present day in Vaishnava hearts; Shishir Kumar Ghose is an enthusiastic Vaishnava; hence the ridiculous explanation given of the origin of the Shakta religion and of the abuse heaped upon Tantric heads, even by such a loving and beloved writer as Shishir Kumar Ghose.

No, the Shaktas did not intentionally brutalize themselves in order to be a match in brutality to Moslem Afghans and Moghuls, as Mr. Ghose would have it. Why, Tantras were written, appointing flesh and wine as essentials in religion, before there was any Mahommedanism even in Arabia, not to speak of Afghanistan. Besides, religions are not manufactured in this way; and as far as most of the Tantras are concerned, it must be admitted that their writers, instead of

encouraging the brutalization of themselves by flesh and drink, wrote strongly against any such use. There is much more formal encouragement by the conduct of the gods to drink to excess in Vedic literature than in Tantric, as far as we have read in both. But there are Tantras and Tantras Vamachari and Dakshina Tantras for example.

In another life of Chaitanya we read that the Vaishnavas were very limited and the Shaktas reigned supreme, that they (the latter) indulged in wine, women and flesh to a very great extent, and were very rough in their manners; and "that the poor Vaishnavas used to tremble in their presence," p. iii. Now there are quite a number of Tantras accepted as Scriptures by Vaishnavas. They have Tantras of their own.

A writer in the *Oriental* of October last says that the Tantras date their origin contemporaneously with the Upanishads, as it is evident that the Upanishads deal with the *Jnanakanda* of the Vedas and the Tantras deal with the *Karmakanda*. One of the authoritative Upanishads reproduces the identical Sutra of *Satchakra Veda*, which is said to form the fundamental principle of the Tantric religion—the substance of which is as follows:—"There are one hundred and one nerves in the human frame, amongst which *Shusumna* which enters into the cortical centres, conditions the mental operations as to the liberation of the soul and others help to perform secular duties."

We give the following statements on the authority of the *Oriental* for what they are worth. We have not been able to verify them:—"The seventh sloka of the *Prasnopanishad* bears out the same fact. Besides these, there are copious instances of reference to the Tantras in *Narad Pancharattra*, *Skanda Purana*. *Mahabharatta Debi Bhagbata*, *Agastha Sanhita*, *Vishnu Purana*, *Agni Purana*, *Markandeya Purana*, &c., &c That the very ancient Rishis, such as Narada, Kapila, Gautama, Sanat Kumar, Dattatreya, &c., were Tantrics is evident from the following books entitled by them respectively to wit:—*Narad Puncharattra*, *Kapil Puncharattra*, *Gautama Tantra*, *Sunat Kumar Tantra*, *Duttatreya Sanhita*."

The writer in the *Oriental* proceeds to add—"The religion propounded by the Tantras is not the subject matter of rhetoric or of barren argument, of a theory, but it is that which requires *Sadhana* or carrying out of its dictum, which being reduced into practice, the efficacy is immediately felt The famous bard and devotee Ramprasad, Maharajah Ramkrishna of Nattore, Kamala Kanta, Kumar Nares Chundra, and the great Ramkrishna Paramhansa are the later products of the Tantric religion or Shaktism." So Mr. Dutta says, and he certainly has made out a claim upon Bengalis to study in-

telligently and come to a decision upon the matter for themselves. But we will have conveyed a false impression if we have led any one to think that the study of the Tantras which originated in Bengal is confined to Bengal. No, we have seen how they have honeycombed Buddhism. They are also found and read and studied in Western and Southern India as well as in Northern and Eastern, their native place. History tells us how they were introduced into Guzerat, and we find in Dr. Oppert's lists of Sanscrit MSS. discovered by him in private Libraries in Southern India, under the general heading of *Ceremonial* with sub-divisions headed (1) *Agama*, (2) *Kalpaprayoga* and (3) *Mantra-tantra*, as many as 400 distinct Tantrâ works in circulation among the Hindus of Southern India. Printed Tantras, not to speak of MSS., are in circulation in the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab, some of them even in Hindi, just as we find a few in Bengali, in the Calcutta book shops. All the same, it is curious to find so much ignorance concerning them among Europeans, even among Orientalists and Sanscritists. All that the Encyclopædia Britannica says of their date is that this class of writings does not appear to have been in existence at the time of Amara Singh (sixth century), but they are mentioned in some of the Puranas; but Amara Singh's reticence or silence proves nothing, most certainly not a universal negative. It is very different with such expressions as we find in the *Srimadbhagabata* "the conclusive science of the Tantras," "the all-powerfulness and versatility of Vishnu and other propagators of religion in the Vedas, or in the Tantras." Such expressions conclusively prove the Tantras to be older than the books in which they occur; and of all the Puranas we are assured that the *Srimadbhagabata* exercises a more direct and powerful influence on the opinions and feelings of the people than any other.

Though highly prized in India, and though Europeans and Americans, as a rule, take much interest in the Sanscrit literature of India, neither Americans nor Europeans have shown any interest whatever in the Tantras. Orientalists and Sanscritists of the West have, it may be said, simply ignored them, although they, it must be admitted, offer an important study in comparative religion, if not also in comparative philosophy. There is no volume treating of them or of the Shakta religion in the extensive library of the *Sacred Books of the East*; and Professor Max Müller does not give a single page to them in his *History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature*. Even the Missionaries have neglected them, though a goodly number of them have studied a good few of the Indian vernaculars and a fair proportion of them Sanscrit also. And the natives have not translated many of them into English, the only ones we have

met with are the *Mahanirvana Tantra* (one of the best) and *Siva Sanhita* (one of the worst). Not one has as yet been translated or published in Europe or America.

Of course there are good and bad among them even from the Sakta point of view, as well as original and compiled; some in fairly good Sanscrit, and others in outrageously poor Sanscrit; the latter evidently by men who knew nothing of Panini, and who possibly wrote before the great grammar had been composed.

The form of composition generally followed is that of a dialogue between a male and a female, the latter giving utterance to her curiosity as questions, the former replying. As a rule the male is Siva and the female Durga, or some one of her many forms, otherwise called *Sakti* (energy), hence the name of the religion Saktism, or the *Sakta* religion.

The subject matter is gathered round the five words—creation, destruction, worship, power, union or emancipation, and a sixth *Sarshti* (becoming God). The authorship is attributed, as a rule, to Siva, one of each of the *Amnayas*, systems of teaching, having issued from each of Siva's five mouths. This does not characterize all the Tantras. Some are devoted chiefly to medicine, others to alchemy and others to astronomy or astrology; and to other so-called sciences. There are some which are Vaishnava and others Saiva, and yet others are mere spells or incantations, or amulets, or expressive of the duties of gurus and the training of disciples.

As an illustration of a Vaishnava Tantra reference may be made to *Govindo-Kalpalata*, a Tantric compilation on the worship of *Vishnu*, noticed by Mr. H. P. Shastri. It uses all the paraphernalia of the Sakti worship, but still the author is a bigoted Vishnuvite, and tells his readers never to take the work or read it at a place where Sakti is worshipped or where Sakti worshippers live. Yet all Tantras are correctly brought under one name or class of Sanscrit literature and that class is appropriately enough called Tantras—or rites in the sense of religious ceremonies, or strings or systems of rites—from *tan*.

The name *Veda* is taken from the very common phrase occurring so often in the Brahmanas of the Vedas *ya evam vedat* (he who knows this). It and the other word *vidya* (knowledge), neither of which words is much used in the Tantras indicate a difference between the two literatures. In the Vedas knowledge is the one thing. In and through it power, influence and creative faculty are obtained and exercised by the priest. While *Tantra*, as we have seen etymologically, is a string or system of rites or ceremonies, by the practice of which mystic union with a deity is attained and thus the worshipper is protected and aided. Hence the great variety of Tantras

original or compiled as compared with the limited number of Vedas there are—and even these are practically reduceable to one, the Rig-Veda.

K. S. MACDONALD.

ART. IX.—THE ARMENIA OF ST. NIERSES

Through the long centuries of night
Thy "watch" thou'st kept in very deed,
Through Time's long, long flight,
Thy "Lamp" has burned with steady light;
Thy sons "baptized for the dead."

Thy lot has been the Cross on earth;
Thy fair sons and daughters slain—
In "captivity" thou givest birth,
Dwelling beside a blood-stained hearth—
Sodden with rain of blood—blood-rain.

Patience for yet the briefest while,
The Lord thou lovest shall appear,
And change all things by His Smile;
His Love shall all thy pains beguile:
Th' Archangel's Trump proclaims Him near!

Thy Dawn is rising o'er the East;
Awake, arise, and dry thy tear!
Thou'rt called to His "Marriage Feast,"
His sorrowing "Bride," beloved "guest"—
Rise Weeping Queen, and dry thy tear—

C****N.

ART. X.—INDIAN THEOLOGICAL DEGREES.

A very important subject in the intellectual march forward of the Indian Christian Church is now engaging the attention of most Missionaries of the Evangelical demoninations. It is the conferring of Theological Degrees by a duly constituted Senate authorised to grant such degrees, or by one of the existing Indian Universities with a Divinity side to it. Assuming that it is advisable to grant such degrees, how is it to be brought about?

The credit of bringing up this subject before the Christian public for solution belongs to the Rev. George Howells, the Baptist Missionary, who has charge of the Baptist, Theological College at Cuttack. He not only brought up the suggestion for such degrees before the recent Baptist Triennial Conference, but drew up a definite scheme and submitted it to the Missionary Conferences at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Bangalore. The discussion, thus, has been wide, and has been further taken up in the press. As the subject is one of considerable interest, if not importance, to the Indian (Native) Church with its several millions of converts, and numbers of them highly-placed, both in the present and in the future, it may perhaps fittingly find a place in the pages of a *Review* which impartially views and records all matters of Indian moment.

Mr. Howells' scheme may be summed up thus:—

(1) A Theological Senate should be formed for examining and giving diplomas to theological students who have not matriculated.

(2) A B.A. degree in Theology should be established in the Calcutta University.

(3) The degree of B.D should be given in that University for post-graduate theological study, and that of D.D. for original theological research or *honoris causa*

The *Bombay Guardian's* comment on it is "the scheme aims at making the present theological courses in Missionary Colleges lead up to a degree which shall be generally accepted as the equivalent of the existing B.A. This can be done either by creating a new University to confer such degrees, or by prevailing upon some existing University to do so. The Calcutta University alone, it is suggested, should give these degrees."

The Rev. F. W. Kellett, M.A., of the Madras Christian College, in the *Harvest Field*, while considering that the main objects it seeks are most desirable, it is well that proficiency in theology should be recognised. Such recognition would be a stimulus to the study of divinity, and would probably improve our Indian ministry and through them our

Indian Churches, but he says that the difficulties in the way of this arrangement, whether as regards the Calcutta or any other of the existing Indian Universities, are insuperable. Mr. Kellett, however, regards as supreme an opportunity relegated by Mr. Howells to a secondary position. Mr. Kellett says :—

> "In 1827, it seems, Frederic VI., King of Denmark, granted a Charter to the Serampore College—then within his dominions—empowering it to confer degrees. By the treaty of 1845, which transferred Serampore to the British, this power was specifically continued to the Council of the College. The Charter is still valid, though the power conferred by it has never yet been exercised.' This is described as "the very thing we want. The present ouncil of the Serampore College is the Committee of the Baptist Society, and their Secretary says he thinks they are willing to "delegate their degree conferring powers, granted by the Charter, to a Senate or Faculty representative of the various [Protestant?] Christian bodies working in India Such conditions suggest the possibility of a Theological University for India under a Senate representative of Protestant Missions and Churches, free from non-Christian interference and as far as may be from State control. For students for the ministry to pass a Mission test is regarded as of more importance than for them to pass a Government test; but, on the other hand, Government might not accept the B.D. degree as a test of fitness for Government service equivalent to the B.A.

At present the opinions of District Missionaries in various parts are being invited on the following questions :—

> Should the Indian Universities be asked to formulate alternate courses of study for Arts Degrees, on the model, say, of Oxford, to enable under-graduate Theological students to graduate practically in Theology, or should they be asked to institute separate courses and degrees in Theology? Failing the foregoing, should steps be taken to utilise the Serampore Charter, with the approval of all concerned, for the granting of degrees in Theology under the direction of a Senate representative of the Protestant Missions in India? Thirdly, should non-graduation courses of Theological study in India be formulated in English and in the Vernaculars, a general or a Presidency Senate issuing certificates for proficiency ascertained by uniform examinatoin; and, finally, should any Government recognition be asked for such non-graduate proficiency as is the case with regard to proficiency in Sanskrit and Arabic?

It will thus be seen that the project is maturing; and it is as a help to obtaining a sound and accurate view of the whole question that we venture to put forward the following remarks :—

The particulars to be considered are (1) whether the degrees are wanted; (2) what they are to be; (3) what will they be worth; (4) which plan would be the best, whether as regards feasibility or as regards the value of the degrees. And these are all important. The points noted above as placed before District Missionaries seem to assume these as taken for granted. Whether the degrees are wanted or will conduce to the real benefit of the Native Church and the progress of

Missions, or whether they will be worth anything at all, lie at the root of the whole matter. After these come the rest which are mere matters of detail.

First, then, are such degrees wanted, and will they conduce to the real benefit of the Native Church and the progress of Missions? We have to note here that the call has been made not by the mass of the laity, or even the workers in the Mission field, but by a teacher of a theological seminary. And again, not by such large and advanced sections of the Church, as the Gospel Propagation Society and the Church Mission Society, with their numerous and well-appointed Colleges and first class University-men Professors; or the splendidly-worked and endowed Colleges of the Scotch Missions; or the well-organised Seminaries and Colleges of the very numerous Methodist body; or even the popular Institutions of the London Missionary Society; but from the most inconsiderable section and the least-regarded in such matters. This alone would throw a doubt on the wisdom and propriety of the whole matter. It is strange that such a doubt never entered into the minds of those who have given in their adhesion. It will be time enough, we should think, to raise the question, when the call is made by the great mass of the laity and workers and the larger and more influential portions of the Church. We consider, then, the question to be premature, raised before its time, and as being only partially supported by a very small and uninfluential minority, should be set aside for the present.

But if it conduced to the real benefit and progress of the Native Church, it should certainly be persisted in and carried through. Here, too, we do not think the granting of Theological Degrees will prove of any utility. On the contrary, it will serve to repress that living flame of love in the hearts of the followers of Christ, who have tasted of His Salvation, which leads them to proclaim to others His Love, that His Name be glorified. That is, the efforts and zeal of humble but true workers, who perhaps do more than the office-bearers, will be considerably damped, if not quenched, by this show of learning in the leaders. "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation"—not even with Degrees. What we may ask, have Theological Degrees to do with "The Love of Christ which passeth understanding?" Was St. Peter who proclaimed "Christ Crucified," who brought thousands at a time to see the infinite Love and Glory of the Saviour, and who gave himself up finally to be crucified with his head downward, a man who concerned himself with Theological Degrees? Or St. John, "the Beloved Apostle," who treated of the Essential Glory of Christ, and preached Love to the end,

with the Vision of the "City of God" before him? Or even St. Paul, the Learned, who would know nothing of Degrees, but only of "Jesus Christ and Him Crucified?" Indeed, it is a universally-acknowledged, and lamented, fact that in our University Education system at Home, the student who enters with a burning sense of zeal and love to Christ, finds little spiritual food but much Christless intellectual exercise, so that he has a constant struggle to maintain the flame of watchful devotion. This has been well brought out in "The Earnest Student" or Memories of Mackenzie's Life published by Dr. Norman Macleod, and also we believe referred to by the sainted McCheyne. Indeed, all our greatest and most sainted Missionaries have never concerned themselves with Theological Degrees. Why should they? Their work lay in exemplifying and proclaiming the Love of Christ to fallen man; *and the work of every Christian* lies in the same line. It is this alone that we ought to seek in the Indian Church, and one that in the opinion of many observers is much needed. It is for this purpose alone that millions of money are freely lavished by the Christian Churches in England and America. Indeed it is for this purpose alone that even the Theological Colleges in India themselves exist. And, we may add, not one of the numerous Theological Colleges at Home have ever concerned themselves about the granting of Theological Degrees to their students.

To set these Degrees before the eyes of the rising class of Indian preachers and teachers as the *acmè* of their ambition, is to delude the young to give them a false scent, and to betray our trust. It is to quench the work that is already progressing under serious obstacles and innumerable difficulties. Instead of love and devotion to, and service for, Christ, a pottering and smattering of false "criticism" and little Greek (probably no Hebrew at all) will come in. This, indeed, is a very delusion of the Arch-Enemy. There is no one who values learning—real and true learning, and not a mere smattering of it; no one who values more the expansion of the mind, and the grasp it gives over difficult and intricate mental problems; no one who thinks a learned ministry most appropriate to meet the learning of the Hindus; than we do. We have had some little share of that learning and expansion of the mind; but it was at an utterly disproportionate cost. And here we will mention an anecdote of a very learned Hindu Brahmin, Professor of the Calcutta Sanscrit College, who had read the New Testament over and over and over again, and believed in, and prayed to, Christ alone though he still remained a Hindu. During a conversation with him he told us that what India wanted was not "Bishops" and "Doctors

of Divinity," but "*men smitten with the love and zeal of St. Paul*," men who would give up their lives for Christ, and show by *living example what a true Christian was*. That Hindu Brahmin Pundit but declared the truth which seems to be hid from our European Teachers and Professors of Christian Theological Colleges. He is long since dead, and though he died a Hindu Brahmin, and Brahmin rites were performed over his remains, we are firmly assured that he has found the grace and mercy of the Lord whom he believed in. And even in the living present, from distant Bengal, there comes to us the appeal of a powerful Hindu intellect, a very leading lawyer, who has read through the Gospels and Epistles, and who virtually acknowledges Christ, to help him in understanding the mysteries of the Christian faith. Would he do so were there St. Paul's "living Epistles of Christ" about him? He is, we may add, within the reach of half a score of Missions, and half a score of Christian Theological Colleges with their scores of Professors. Nay, we do not want "Theological Degrees," but the warm living loving sympathy and going out of ourselves of our Divine Master and His Apostles, for the young and growing Church in India. We do not decry learning, as will be seen further below, but a sham and a delusion of the Arch-Enemy.

Next; will these "Theological Degree" be worth anything? They will only mark a certain (poor) standard of reading and study. A "D. D." will consider himself greater than a "B. D." (although he has no reason to do so). On the other hand, a "B. D." will be regarded with awe and veneration by a mere "A. D." (associate of Divinity"), and that, too, probably without justification for it Finally, as Native Ministers will never be appointed to European congregations, the "Degrees" will have to be called by Sanscrit or other vernacular equivalents for Indian Christians to apprehend their meaning. And in the vast secular world. including Government, the degree will be just worth nothing!

These "Theological Degrees," thus, are not wanted, will not conduce to the growth and peace of the Indian Church, and will be worth little or next to nothing as well as shams as betokening real learning.

For the Church of England, as it is, the Archbishop of Canterbury has the "faculty" of granting not only Theological but all the other degrees granted by the Universities, and as a fact, he occasionally exercises the right. And as he also grants the "M. A." degree, it does not stand to reason that the vast Church of England section will forego this valuable possession for mere "Theological Degrees" emanating even from an Indian University.

Assuming, however, that only a certain portion of the Indian Church, however sectional and small, *will* have these degrees, the questions are how best to go about it, and how to most enhance the value of the degrees. Here the points quoted above as having been placed before District Missionaries have their bearing.

These are:—Should the Indian Universities be asked to formulate alternate courses of study for Arts Degrees, on the model, say of Oxford, to enable under-graduate Theological students to graduate practically in Theology, or should they be asked to institute separate courses and degrees in Theology? It is quite clear that either of these may be done, but the former degree will be accepted as more valuable than the latter, and being already carried out at Home, may easily be transferred to this country as a right, lawful and proper thing. The Indian Universities are for every form of Belief, and if the Christians body unite here, their demand cannot well be refused. It is probable also that here the great Church of England section will give in their adhesion, and this is an important matter for the full success of the scheme.

The point put before the Missionaries after the preceding is:—Failing the foregoing, should steps be taken to utilise the Serampur Charter, with the approval of all concerned, for the granting of degrees in Theology under the direction of a Senate representative of the Protestant Missions in India? As we state above, the Universities in India can have no hesitation in following the example of Oxford, and, therefore, this question of the Serampur Charter is hardly necessary. Assuming, however, that it becomes necessary, we should think that the Serampur Charter should be taken full advantage of, that is, even for the granting of its own secular Arts and other degrees. But the trouble would lie in getting a Senate representative of all the Protestant Missions in India. If the Church of England unite in this, or even if the Church Mission Society only joined, there would be every chance of its being a great success.

The third point is:—Should non-graduation courses of Theological study in India be formulated in English and in the Vernaculars, a general or a Presidency Senate issuing certificates of proficiency ascertained by uniform examination? To this, we may say, no. There is not the least use of such trifling certificates.

Finally:—Should any Government recognition be asked for such non-graduate proficiency as is the case with regard to proficiency in Sanscrit and Arabic? We consider this as simply absurd.

There is no need to further enlarge on the subject of Theo-

logical Degrees for India. We have considered it from every point of view. The Degrees are not wanted, and will do no good but evil. But if taken in hand, they should be carried through the Indian Universities; and if not, through the Serampur Charter, making the degrees really valuable, and getting the great Church of England body to unite in the scheme. As for mere non-graduation certificates, and recognition of them from Government, the former is almost a shame to be mentioned in such a connection, and the latter is unreasonable and absurd.

THE EDITOR.

ART. XI.—A TRIBUTE.

Victoria—rightly named—whose great career,
From birth to death, was crown'd with Victory,
Whose world-wide Empire stretch'd o'er land and sea,
With "Pax Britannica" as watch-word clear,
Still reign within our hearts for ever near,
Tho' reft from earthly sight—since silently,
That desolated multitude stood by,
When wait'd the wintry wind around thy bier.

No more shall Sorrow on her peace intrude:
Safe from thy dread abyss, engulfing Time!
Shall She survive, the Glorious and the Good,
Revered in Eastern, as in Western, clime,
Embodiment of Sovereignty sublime,
And peerless type of perfect Womanhood!

C. A. KELLY.

ART. XII.—THE NAMBUDRI-BRAHMINS OF

TO the student of history, the Nambudri-Brahmins of Kerala furnish a fascinating subject of study. With a romantic past, they invite a most interesting present. Untouched by the current of modern civilisation, they have managed to keep their antique laws and customs in their pristine purity. Governed by Hindu Law as they are, many portions of it as administered to their brethren on the East Coast have no application to them. For, "it must be remembered that the personal law which they presumably carried with them was the Hindu Law as received by Brahmins at the time of their settlement in Malabar, and it is not the Hindu Law as modified by customs which have since come into prevalence among Brahmins of the East Coast." Similarly in manners, habits, and customs, they widely differ from them. Such as it is, we hope a short account of them will not be without some interest.

The term "Nambudri"* as applied to "Malayala-Brahmins" is a word of respect, of office and dignity, dating its origin from the great reformer and teacher of Kerala—Sankaracharier of Kaladi.† As tradition would have it, Parasurama brought these Brahmins from a locality near Kurukshetra in Northern India to people the land he reclaimed from Varuna by austere penance performed in atonement of the sins of parricide and hero-slaughter. They came in large numbers and he located them in sixty-four gramams (villages) over the entire area, made them the absolute owners of the land, giving them flower and water as a token of the gift, created a militia of 36,000 men from among them called Rakshapurushars for the protection of the country, brought down Sudras for their service and gave them laws,—religious, moral, social and political—for their personal guidance and the proper administration of the land.‡

* From Dravidian Nambuka=to confide and Sans. *Sri*=dignity, office (Gundert).

† See *Keralolpathi*.

‡ Jacob Canter Visscher, whose "Letters from Malabar" have been translated into English by Major Heber Drury, gives another version of the tradition :—"In by-gone ages the sea washed the foot of a mountain range which now lies seven or eight miles in land. The men who dwelt in the neighbourhood gained their subsistence by fishing along the mountain-shores. Now it happened that there dwelt at Gocarna near Goa a certain prophet renowned for sanctity whose name was Parasurama. He discovering to his sorrow that his aged mother had acquired an evil notoriety in the neighbourhood for her misdeeds, felt unable to endure the public shame she had brought upon him. At length inspired by a divine impulse, he

About the probable date of their settlement in Kerala, we have no precise information. Such of the facts as afford a reasonable inference are thus carefully collected by the distinguished judge and jurist of South India in a case reported in the 11th Volume of I. L. Reports, Madras series (p. 180-181). "There is internal evidence," says he, "to show that the event must have occurred before the *Mitakshara* was written. The *Sarvaswadanam* marriage is recognised in Malabar, and as far as we are aware, there is no allusion to it in the *Mitakshara* as a form of marriage in use. According to the latter, daughters are in the line of heirs and the Cochin expert Tiruvengidachari and several other witnesses say that they are not heirs among *Nambudris* unless they are given in Sarvaswadanam marriages and thereby retained in the family. We may also state that the migration must have taken place prior to the time of Sankaracharier, the founder of the Adwaita or non-dualistic school of Vedic Philosophy. It is in evidence that *Acharams* or practices of Nambudris are believed to have been regulated by him and he is known to have lived about fifth or seventh century. Again according to tradition Parasurama was the first king who introduced Brahmins into Malabar as an organised community, and a considerable period of time must have intervened between him and Sankaracharier. Further *Niyoga* or inviting a Brahmin to beget a son upon a childless widow for her husband was in use among Brahmins in early times, but at a later period several Smritis reproved the practice as 'fit only for cattle,' and under their influence various forms of adoption gradually took the place of *Niyoga* which was ultimately forbidden. The direction to marry specially for an *illom* (house) which is said to be founded on analogy to Sarvasuradanam marriage conveys the impression that the girl selected for the marriage is by special agreement substituted for the daughter born in the family into which she is married, so that her son and his descendants become the repre-

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seized a rice winnow and hurled it with tremendous force from Gocarna right over the sea; by a wonderful miracle it was carried as far as Cape Comorin, upon which all the sea between the two places immediately dried up and was transformed into that tract of level land to which we now give the name of Malabar. The prophet resolved to take up his abode with his mother in the strange land hoping here to find a hiding place for his disgrace. Meantime the fishermen of the mountains hearing of the miracle flocked into these lowlands to seek for the seashore. The prophet met them, and knowing that a land without inhabitants is waste and desolate, persuaded them to remain and settle there; and in order the more to attract them, he invested them with the dignity of Brahmins. . . . He then took the fishing nets. . . . and tore them into strands which he twisted together to make the three cords which the Brahmins wear as a sign of dignity. . . . . These Brahmins of Malabar are called "*Nambudris*." (Pages 9 and 10.)

sentatives of that *illom*. This is an indication that Nambudris settled in Malabar at a time when Niyoga was in disrepute so far as it authorised sexual intercourse between a woman and a person who was not her husband, and when there was a tendency to substitute a form of adoption for it, so that its value as a mode of affiliation might be retained. We can only say upon the evidence that Nambudiris must have settled in Malabar more than 1200 or 1500 years ago. It may not be out of place to refer in connection with this historical fact to the interesting account given by Mr. Logan, of the probable mode and the time of settlement in Appendix I to his report on 'Malabar Land Tenures.' The conclusion to which he has come is stated by him in para. 64 as follows. I think there is enough to show that Nambudris entered and settled in Malabar in large numbers, and as an organised body precisely at the time (end of seventh and first half of eighth century) when the extinction of the Perumals' authority was for the first time menaced by the Western Chalukyas. It is reasonable to conclude that the Perumals received them with open arms at a time when, as shown by the Jewish and Syrian deeds, they were seeking succour from every quarter, and it is also reasonable to conclude that they, in some way, managed to do the Perumals some friendly office, for we find from the Syrian grant, that they had already in A. D. 774 obtained commanding influences in the country."

According to Keralolpathi,* the original Brahmin settlers were pure Aryans. But whatever it be, it would be wrong to classify the present Nambudris—their descendants as pure Aryans, though their colour, stature and appearance may argue a pure Aryan parentage. It must be remembered that soon after the first colonisation, several waves of Brahmin immigrants from all parts of India poured into Kerala, "a land upon which nature has bestowed uncommon advantages"† and lived in peaceful comity with the first settlers. And various points of similarity exist even to day between Nambudris and the Dravidian Brahmins of the Telugu countries, in their customs and manners which materially shake their claim to pure Aryan descent.‡ And besides this, the testimony of experts is against them. "It has often been asserted and is the general belief of Ethnologists" writes Mr. Stuart in the Madras Census Report, 1891, "that the Brahmins of South are not pure Aryans but are a mixed Aryan and Dravidian race."

Like the other castes, the Nambudri caste may be divided

* This works pretends to be a trustworthy history of Malabar.
† Buchanan's Travels, vol II, page 61.
‡ See Travancore Census Report, 1891, page 654.

into several classes. Broadly speaking it branches off into two great divisions—the first comprising persons who are entitled to the study of the Scriptures (technically called "Oathul-laver"), and the other consisting of those who are not entitled to it. Neither inter-dining nor inter-marriage is permitted between the two classes. Roughly estimated, of the sixty-four villages, the northern thirty-two belong to the first class and the rest to the latter.*

Another classification is according to the spiritual headship to which they owe their allegiance. There are at present two great ecclesiastical heads called Vádhyans of Trichur and Tirunavai, to one of whom every Nambudri in the land owes his allegiance. These heads belong to very ancient families and trace their ecclesiastical supremacy to Parasurama himself. The institutions at Trichur and Tirunavai called "Yogams" resemble "Mutts" in the other coast of the Presidency and are like them endowed with immense estates, the proceeds of which go to the maintenance and the religious training of Nambudri youths that belong to them. The origin of this dual headship is ascribed by the historian of Travancore to the great Brahmin reformer Sankaracharia. To quote his own words, "The improvements effected by Sankaracharia were that each of the divisions (Chourakoor and Pamiarkoor into which they were originally divided) should have a *Vádhyan* called Tirunavai Vádhyan and Trichur Vádhyan, that there should be under these two personages six Vydeekans, a set of *Maimasikans* and *Smarthans*." But it is not clearly known what difference exists, if there be any, between the disciples of these Vádhyans. For practical purposes there seems to be none.

The Vydeekans are persons privileged to enquire into caste questions and disputes. Altogether there are, as pointed out above six Vydeekans, belonging to six different *illams* (families), a member generally the eldest being selected from each. The claim their authority for this as for everything else from thy great hero himself. In their council of enquiry, two form the quorum, and without the quorum, no investigation can be proceeded with. Their great weapon of punishment is "exe communication," and like the Popes of olden days, they use it without any scruples for their own selfish ends. Of great learning and local influence, thoroughly versed in shastras andt customary laws their authority is unquestioned and unquestionable and even now it remains as of yore. As a recent instance of the exercise of their power, the case of an English graduate of the land may be mentioned. Some years ago he had the audacity to commit the heinous and unpardonable sin

* See Travancore Census Report, 1891, page 659.

of crossing the "black waters" to the land of 'Hûnas'* and so on his return, the Vydeekans hauled him up before their tribunal and visited him with a condign punishment. And it is now fervently hoped that this example will be a wholesome lesson to others who may be infected with a desire to travel

" . . . among unknown men
In lands beyond the sea."

The most important principle of division is according to their social rank and status. Of all the several orders Nambudri *pads*† or Adhyans occupy the highest step in the social ladder, the family of the Azhuvanchéri Adhyans being in the foremost rank. Though eight other families have been recognised to be of equal repute and religious sanctity, they are not entitled to that peculiar respect and reverence paid to the Azhuvanchéri family. The members of this house are no common 'Nambudripads' but are 'Sovereigns' being addressed as 'Tamburakkals' on account of their supreme religious worth. The traditionary account of their right to this distinguished title is highly interesting. When a member of this family was returning from a *Hiranyagarbhadanam* ceremony with a gold cow in hand, a Pariah accidentally met him on the road and reprimanded him thus: "We are the rightful owners of dead cows and not Brahmins. If not, our occupation is gone. Should this be yours, give it life and walk it home." Thereupon the Nambudri sprinkled a drop of water on the image and lo! it began to show signs of life. The Pariah stood aghast and exclaimed in astonishment and terror "O! you are Tamburakkal indeed!" They alone are privileged to administer on the "coronation day of the Cochin and Travancore Rajas," and to them alone belong "the four highest privileges of honour and religious orthodoxy," *viz.*, *Bhadrasanam*, *Sarvamanyam*, *Bhramasamrajyam*, and *Brahamavarchassu*.

After 'Adhyans' come "agnihotrees," persons who alone are entitled to keep the holy fire and perform sacrifices and then "Bhattatiris," person entitled to the study of Philosophy, having no right to perform sacrifices. Again these two orders are divided into various classes according to their pursuits in life, such as Vydeekans (Vedic judges), Vádhyans (priests and teachers), Tantrees (Purifiers of temple and consecrators of idols) and Shantees (temple worshippers).

In addition to the above are several others who have forfeited their right to the full privileges and status of the Nambudri caste by a variety of causes such as the practice of

* The Nambudri calls Englishmen "Hûnas."
† Pad—authority.

surgery and the taking up of arms. But as the term "Nambudri" as used in popular parlance does not connote these, it is needless to give any account of them here.*

"Every period of a Hindu's life, especially of a Brahmin's from his birth and even before his birth," writes Bishop Caldwell, "is attended by a host of ceremonies."† If this is true in general of all Brahmins, it is specially so of Nambudris. Before a Nambudri is six months old a host of ceremonies are performed on his account. *Pumsavanam* and *Seemantam*, ceremonies performed in the third and fourth months of conception prepare the way for the grander and more important ceremonies after birth. Within thirty-six hours after that event, the *Jatakarmani* ceremony is gone through with much éclat and pomp. Now for the first time the father looks at the darling child of his loins and bathing him, places him on his lap and pours down his throat a small quantity of a mixture of gold, honey and ghee. Mantras are recited and rich presents are given to Brahmins. When the child is a dozen days old, the parents utter its name in its ears, and after an interval of four months from this ceremony, called *Namakaranam* ceremony, the ceremony of taking it out of the house for the first time, is celebrated.‡ Two months after it is followed by the rice-giving ceremony. The father seats the child on his lap and feeds him with consecrated rice and honey. Mantras are recited at the time and the usual presents are given. There is much feasting and merry-making and the day is observed as a gala day.

Tonsure or chowlam (the shaving of the child for the first time) is an important affair. It gives the Nambudri boy his distinguishing mark. Unlike his brethren on the other side of the Ghauts, he wears his *Kudumai* (lock of hair) in front and this peculiarity has a very interesting tale to tell. The first settlers brought down by Parasurama did not remain in Keralam owing to "the dread of the myriads of serpents infesting the country." § Therefore when he brought down another set, he determined that they should not follow the example of their predecessors. And so he got all of them shaved from Gocarnam; ‖ thinking that the contempt of foreigners for this queer fashion would be an effective check on their home-returning tendencies. On this occasion, it is the Marar (a class of temple servant) who plays the rôle of the barber. In the case of girls, only one or two hairs are clipped, but "there

* For a comprehensive table of the various classes see Rama Chandra Iyer's "Malabar Law and Custom."

† The Indian Antiquary, 1875, page 172.

‡ Called "*Nishkramanam*."

§ See Keralolpathi and Logan's '*Malabar Manual*,' page 222.

‖ See Keralolpathi, page 6

is no objection to remove all the hair except the Kudumai portion which should always be left."

Upanayanam, which is generally performed in the eighth year is a very important ceremony for all classes of Brahmins whether of the Malabar Coast or not. It is the ceremony which regenerates a Brahmin youth, which entitles him to the study of the Vedas, and to all the other privileges which are his birthright. Without this he is not a Brahmin; he is worse than a Sudra. The ceremony is performed on an auspicious day in the *Uttarayanam* period (*i.e.*, the period when the sun is north of the equator). "On the day previous to the appointed one, the *Nandi* is performed when a *Sradha* is observed and Brahmins are fed. The next day, the usual initial proceedings over, the boy is made to wear the sacred thread and perform sacrifice to the fire in the midst of which he is made to put on a waist string made of a certain kind of grass and the skin of the animal called Krishnamrigom The ceremony of investiture begins by the youth's standing opposite the sun and walking thrice round the fire. Then girt with thread he asks alms from the assembled company. This begging for alms indicates that the youth undertakes to provide himself and his preceptor with food." * He is now taught the holy gayatri.

After Upanayanam, the period of studentship commences. Throughout this period, which "may last to three, nine, eighteen or even to thirty-six years," the Nambudri youth is with "hermit heart," "to scorn all delights and live laborious days." For him the study of the Dattu (Vedas) and the punctilious performance of *Sindhaya Vandanams* are to be the only recreations; a coarse piece of cloth to cover his nudity and a strap of Krishnamrigom's skin across the chest are to be the only ornaments.

With such rigid observances and practices, the period of study is brought to a close by the ceremony of *Samavartanum*. The detials are considerably simple. Bathing before the day-break and performing the usual morning services and sacrifices, the youth parts with the symbols of studentship—the waist-string of grass and the wand - and after a shave, he bathes inside the house in water which the sun has not touched, puts on his dress and castemark and then concludes the homam. Throughout the day, he shuts himself up in his room for fear of exposing himself to the rays of the sun. But soon after sunset he concludes the ceremony by looking at the moon and the stars. This ceremony—an essential preliminary to 'marriage'—is incumbent on all Nambudri youths and its omission is to be paid with the loss of their caste. †

* Travancore Census Report, 1891, pages 664 and 665.

† Malabar Marriage Commission Report, Deposition of witness No. 93

Thus Samavartanum leads us to the subject of 'marriage.' 'Marriage' among Nambudris is a very different affair from that of the other classes of Brahmins. To the latter, marriage is a right and a privilege, and also, in a certain sense, an obligation. Among 'Nambudris' none—whether male or female—is *obliged* to marry while only the happy few are entitled to do so. Let me explain what I mean. Among non-Nambudri Brahmin classes all males are entitled to a marriage sanctioned and recognised by law and religion, and their females are obliged to marry before puberty, at the pain of excommunication from caste. But among this curious people it is only the eldest son in a family that is entitled to enter into holy wedlock, and his brothers are left to lead a life of concubinage "assisting the ladies of the Rajas, and of the Nairs of distinction to keep up their families."* In the case of females, not only the doctrine of compulsory marriage before puberty has no existence, but many of them even die without tasting the pleasures and enjoyments of "married life," and as if "to make a tardy retribution—if it deserves that name to the woman who dies unmarried, the corpse it is said cannot be burnt till a *tali* is strung round the neck of the corpse while lying on the funeral pile by a competent relative."† But it is important to note that, however different it may be in other respects, the effects of 'marriage' are identical among all classes of Brahmins. For "a Nambudri woman, in common with a Brahmin on this side of the Ghauts, takes her husband's *Gotram* upon her marriage and passes into his family from that of her father; and perpetual widowhood and incapacity to re-marry on her husband's death are the incidents of marriage both among Nambudris and Brahmins of the East Coast."‡

The marriage ceremony is not very complex in details. We have the usual consultation of horoscopes, the appointment of the marriage day, and the settlement of the dowry, the magnificent procession of the bridegroom and his party to the bride's *illam*—escorted by an array of Nairs armed with swords and shields; the equally magnificent reception at the gate by a levy of white-robed Nair beauties, and the sumptuous meal called *Ayimenu*, the usual prelude to the ceremonies of the day. Then the bridegroom is formally welcomed by the bride's parents, as a sign of which the father washes his feet and a Nair woman as the mother's proxy, waves a plate of Ashtamangalyam before his face, and is led in procession to the wedding *Pandal* which rings with the shrill notes of joy

* Buchanan's Travels. Vol. ii, page 105.
† Logan's *Malabar Manual*, page 127.
‡ I. L. R., 4. ii Mad., 161.

made in concert with Nambudri women who hide themselves behind a screen and peep through its artificial holes. Now the bride joins the bridegroom and throwing flowers at his feet, presents him with a wreath of flowers. Throughout the ceremony, the bridegroom is armed with a stick and a string, while the bride is equipped with an arrow and a mirror—symbols which in all probability point to the days when might was right in marriage as in everything else. The Vedic hymns are recited and the *father* ties the tali round his daughter's neck and then gives her and the settled dowry to the bridegroom for his formal acceptance. Then follow the usual *Saptapati*, the Homa, the father's advice to the bridegroom to take good care of his wife, and their immediate departure to the bridegroom's house. "On reaching the husband's *illom*, the wife is taken charge of by the elderly matrons and initiated in the household duties which consist of planting a jasmine shoot in the inner yard of the house and watering it with ceremony. On the fourth night, the wife serves food to her husband and then the couple retire to the bed-room"* On the following day the ceremonies are brought to a close by the bridegroom, laying aside his staff and untying the sacred thread on his arm. An interesting custom in their marriage ceremony is that of the married couple standing beside a tub of water in which small fishes are placed and capturing them by means of a cloth. The significance of this curious practice is not quite clear. Some take it as pointing to their origin from fisherman-caste while others explain it as an indication of their wish to be as fruitful as the fish.

Such in brief is an account of their ordinary and accepted form of marriage. Besides this, there are two other kinds of marriage prevalent among them, *e.g.*, *Sarvaswadanam* and *Kypidichuvekkal marriages*. Of these the former is referable to ancient Hindu Law "which authorised the appointment of a daughter or her male child as the legitimate son of her father for the purpose of funeral obsequies and of inheritance and the formula used during that marriage is the text of Vasishta which is as follows: 'I give unto thee this virgin (who has no brother) decked with ornaments, and the son who may be born of her shall be my son.' It is the special agreement between the bride's father and her husband that distinguishes Sarvaswadanam from an ordinary marriage and it suggests nothing more than a form of affiliation in use under ancient Hindu Law. It is in fact a case of adoption, the difference between this and the ordinary adoption consisting in that the affiliation was made during the daughter's marriage

* Ramachandra Iyer's 'Malabar Law' Introduction, page 5.

and in the expectation that she might have a son."* By this marriage the issue of the union becomes for all practical purposes the son of the maternal grand-father, and till he is born the son-in-law holds the property as a trustee to the son ready to hand it back to the *illom* in the event of a failure of such issue.† The right to make such a marriage is often exercised by Nambudri widows and unmarried females.‡

About *Kypidichuvekkal* marriage much need not be said. It has not the sanction of the Shastras and as such is of slight significance. It is resorted to only in cases where the father of the girl is too poor to give a dowry, or where the girls to be given in marriage are either several in number or deformed or sick. As to its incidents, opinion is not uniform. In a suit brought for maintenance by the daughter whose mother was married in this form, the defendant, her deceased father's brother, pleaded that she was not entitled to be maintained by him as she was the heir of her mother's *illom* and not of her father's. But the evidence on this point was hopelessly conflicting and vague, and consequently the alleged custom was held not to be proved.§ In this, there is no dowry and the wife generally lives in her own house.

Considering the peculiar law of marriage, and the vigorous exactness with which it is followed, one may feel surprised at the extremely few instances of immoral conduct found among the community But this pleasing though surprising phenomenon is to be chiefly ascribed to a safety-valve in the system—I refer to the practice of polygamy‖—no less than to the very severe penalty meted out to the delinquent. Whenever a Nambudri lady is suspected of immoral conduct, strangely enough, it is her own people that publish her shame. The head of her *illom* calls an assembly of kinsmen and friends and institutes a private enquiry of a searching nature by examining the *Vrishali* (maid servant) of the suspected woman. Where evidence sufficient to constitute what lawyers call "moral certainty" is not forthcoming, the enquiry is at once stopped and the matter dropped as groundless. Otherwise it is carried to the ears of the local chief, who, after satisfying himself of the reasonableness of the charge, issues a writ to the *Smarthen* and deputes as his agent 'a Vedic scholar of the court.' All of them go to the *Smarthen's* house and laying down a sum of money as a present, place the case before him.

* I. L. R., 11 Mad., 163.

† Mayne 'On Hindu Law and Usages,' page 78.

‡ Ramchandra Iyer's 'Malabar Law,' page 23.

§ Malabar Law Reports, Vol. I. K. N. Nambudri *vs.* T. M. A. Bhattatiripad.

‖ Surgeon-Major Cornish thus writes in his Madras Census Re 1871; "The Nambudri-Brahmins may marry as many as seven wives

He then sends for the *Maimamsikens* and with them, immediately starts to the house of the wrong-doer. Standing at a respectful distance from her, and without being seen by her, he commences the investigation by a series of questions addressed to her through her Nair maid, who invariably acts on the occasion as an intermediary. Then the *Maimamsikens* and the *Smarthen* retire to analyse the evidence, and if they agree in her innocence, the enquiry is at once stopped and they all lie prostrate before her and beg to be excused If the verdict be against her, the *Smarthen* confronts her and probes the matter more into details. From this period she is called "a thing" and removed to a particular part of the house called "*Anchampura*" and kept under close surveillance. The opinion of the assembly is communicated to the chief, and, with his permission, a needy *Pattar* (a foreign Brahmin) who will do anything for money calls out the names of the culprits—for the adulterer too is punished and pronounces the sentence of excommunication on them. Immediately after, a *Pallichan* (the remover of pollution in the village) runs up to the unfortunate woman and deprives her of the characteristic umbrella which every Nambudri lady carries with her as a protection from public gaze; and as she slowly walks out of her house the rest of the females—without the least pity or remorse for the forlorn wretch—clap their hands at her back in utter derision and exuberant joy. Then the inmates of the *illom* perform a mock funeral ceremony of the departed being and attends the 'feast of purification' (*Suthabhojanam*) "when for the first time since the trial commenced the relations of the accused woman are permitted to eat in company with their caste-fellows, and with this feast which is partaken of by every Nambudri who cares to attend, the troubles of the family come to an end." *

Though there is no uniformity of opinion as to the origin of this curious marriage-law, it may reasonably be attributed to the desire "of maintaining the impartibility of their estates." † To this supreme desire, which, by the way, is not peculiar to Nambudris alone may be traced various other laws and customs which are probably obsolete in all advanced communities Their Law of Partition is entirely different from that of their brethren of the East Coast. According to the well-re-

* Logan's '*Malabar Manual*,' page 126

† Wigram's '*Malabar Law and Custom*,' page 3. Mr. Buchanan thus accounts for it. "In order to prevent themselves from losing dignity by becoming too numerous, the younger sons of a Nambudri family seldom marry." vol II, p 105. Mateer in his 'Land of Charity' blindly following Buchanan writes thus: "To keep down the numbers of this caste the eldest son alone in a family is allowed to marry in a regular form, &c." It needs little hesitation to say that this view is utterly ridiculous.

cognised principles of Hindu Law, a member of a *Mitakshara* family acquires in the family fund an interest as soon as he is born—an interest which he can, at any moment, claim by Partition whether the others like it or not. Of course the Nambudri too acquires an interest by birth in the ancestral property, but it is only an interest in virtue of which he can claim to be fed and clothed, and in some cases to be educated and for nothing else. For among them as among Nairs "family property is not liable to be divided at the instance of any one of the co-parceners."*

Their Law of Inheritance is another instance of the same motive. It is essentially different from the common Hindu Law of Inheritance, but in some points it is essentially identical with it. Among Nambudris, except in certain families,† succession is traced through males and property passes from father to son. "Legal marriage is the basis of succession among them as among the Brahmins of the East Coast. That is, we have the notion of paternal relation founded upon legal marriage as the cause of inheritance both under Hindu Law and among Nambudri-Brahmins."‡ Again the rule of collateral succession is the same under both systems, and both systems recognise alike "the authority of the Vedas and the Smritis and the efficacy of ceremonial observances and of funeral and annual obsequies." But among Nambudris it is only the eldest in a family who is entitled to succeed as to marry—a custom which is unmistakably the result of their desire to keep the impartiability of their estates,‡ and the rest have only a right to be fed and clothed at the expense of the family. If at the time of the father's death, the son is younger than any of his uncles, then he is superseded by the eldest of them, but, in their absence and in case of his minority, the eldest female of the family succeeds to the property.

Adoption is another topic in which Nambudris differ from other Brahmins. To point out some of the more important differences, While according to the accepted principles of Hindu Law, the absence of a male heir in the fourth degree entitles a person to exercise the right of adoption, among Nambudris the existence of *any* male heir of whatever degree who is eligible to marry and beget sons, serves as a positive bar to its exercise. Adoption, as it prevails among them is obsolete in other parts of India, for "it does not completely sever the person adopted from his natural family and fix him

* I. L. R., 11 Mad, p. 162.

† Nambudris of '*Payagannur*' village are Marumakkatayam (succession through females) people. Parasurama asked all the Brahmin settlers to follow Marumakkatayam law. But all, except one solitary village, sternly refused it. (See Keralolpathi, page 10.)

‡ See Logan's "Manual of Malabar."

in the adoptive family." Again there is a great difference between the two systems as regards the widow's power to adopt. For, on the East Coast, "she should be expressly authorised either by her husband or his sapindas," but among Nambudris the authority is presumed, as in Bombay, if not expressly prohibited. Another difference lies in the number of persons that can be adopted at one time, for Hindu Law discountenances adoptions of two or more persons at the same time,* but the Nambudri law recognises simultaneous adoptions by a widow as valid and binding.†

Keeping these broad differences in view, let us proceed to describe their several forms of adoption. Their regular and religious adoption is called "*Pathekayyil Dattu*" or adoption with ten hands, the hands of both the natural and adoptive parents who must be alive, and the hands of the boy being joined when the gift is made. Dattachomam is performed, but adoption is in the *Dwayamushayana* form," and so the adopted son is entitled to "the property of both his natural and adoptive fathers."‡ The other kind of religious adoption is called *Chanchamatha* adoption, *i.e.*, adoption by burning a pan of sacred grass. "Either the father or mother of the adopted son gives away by himself or herself the son to be adopted and a male or female himself or herself accepts the son in adoption. Dattachomam is performed in connection with this adoption also"§ The last kind of adoption is popularly known as *Kudivaichuttila Dattu* and is in much favour among the people. It differs from the other two in its "being entirely based on secular motives"‖ and in its close resemblance to the *Kritrima* adoption still practised in Mithila. By this adoption a person is appointed as heir to the family either by the sole surviving widow or male member of the *illom*, and "the form is said to consist in adopting the person who may be an adult or a married man without any ceremony, and by simply giving a writing to the heir appointed or sending information to the Raja." And where it is desired to perpetuate the line of the adopter, the adoptee receives a special appointment to marry and raise up issue for the *illom* or the line of the adopter.¶

So much for their peculiar laws. Now let us turn our attention to their mode of life, their manners and social usages, their position in the land and kindred things.

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* Mayne on "Hindu Law, &c.," page 110.
† Ramachandra Iyer's "Malabar Law," p. 23.
‡ I. L. R., 11 Mad., pages 177 and 178.
§ I. L. R., 11 Mad., pages 177 and 178.
‖ Ramachandra Iyer's "Malabar Law," Chap. V
¶ Mayne "On Hindu Law and Usage," page 21,

As pointed out in the beginning, they are a handsome race—tall, fair and intelligent in appearance. Though to be met with occasionally in Law Courts and other public haunts, they are essentially a rural folk. "Away from the busy hum of men" may be seen large mansions situated on the banks of "streams that murmur as they run," or on the sides of mountain-cataracts "that blow their trumpets from the steep." There in the midst of plenty of crowned, surrounded by their large retinue of followers, and looked up to by them as gods on earth, they lead a life of comparative tranquility; of supreme contentment and unruffled ease. No other Brahmin is so punctual in his religious observances as the Nambudri. Rising very early in the morning, he bathes and performs his religious services which generally last till 10 or 10-30 in the day. Then after a simple but comfortable meal he either takes a short *nap* or

"... entertains the harmless day
With a religious book or friend."

Then again at about four in the evening, he bathes and prepares for his evening prayers, thus serving God "both late and early" he lives in serene bliss,

"Unvext by cares or fears or strife."

No person in the world is so conservative as the Nambudri. Never has he figured in any of our great movements—political, religious or social—nor has he ever crossed the threshold of any of our schools. A firm and faithful adherent of ancient custom, he considers any violation of it to be a sacrilege and a sin. Modern civilization which has effected many a visible change in other men's thoughts and lives, has never yet touched the hem of his garment and as such, he often appears to us as an idiot and a fool and not unfrequently becomes an innocent victim in the hands of his too astute followers. By nature he is simple and frank. His charity and hospitality are proverbial. To all but to his tenants

"Large is his bounty and his soul sincere."

In dress as in other things he keeps the archaic simplicity. A *pavu-mundu* * round his waist, a *dhoti* of the same kind across his chest, a gold belt for the waist and some rings for his ears and fingers constitute his holiday attire. The new fangled coat and trousers have very little charms for him, and if at all he adopts them, it is in a fashion peculiarly his own.

As the *Jenmi* (the absolute owner of land) and the sole repository of all learning—whether scriptural, or secular, the Nambudri occupies a commanding place in the land. He is

* A cloth of very fine texture.

ever careful to assert his superiority on all occasion and by all possible ways. In address, as in conversation most humiliating and servile language must be used. "His person is holy; his directions are commands; his movements are processions; his meal is nectar; and his house is a palace," while the others are his slaves; their rice is stony or gritty rice; their money is copper cash; their houses are huts; their clothes are dirty—rags, and their persons are unclean.

As a landlord, he is very exacting towards his tenants.* Not satisfied with the due payment of the proper rents, he claims also a right for anything he may take a fancy for in his tenant's possession. Like the feudal barons of old, he takes "*forced presents*" from them on all possible occasions. A marriage in the *illom*, the birth of a son in the family, a birthday or a funeral ceremony—all these imply so much "increased bleeding" of the poor peasants. A little hesitation in complying with his holy behests entails the certain loss of their ancient holdings, and in all probability some social difficulties. Under such circumstances as these, is it a wonder that some tenants who are alien in faith and as such restrained by no religious scruples, take up arms against this sea of troubles and seek some momentary relief in shedding the life-blood of a dozen of them? †

However low the status of a Sudra be, it is curious to note that no Nambudri in the land can do away with him They cannot perform any ceremony whatever without his aid. The origin of this peculiar custom is ascribed to Sankaracharia. With an intellect of a very high order and an acute power of observation, he saw at a glance the absurdities of the Nambudri customs and became their hostile critic at an early age And according to the usual fate of all reformers, he became the object of their displeasure, and the Nambudri Society outcasted him as a bastard and refused to help him in his mother's obsequies. But undaunted by this, the young reformer got Sudras to perform all ceremonies that ought to be performed by a junior member of the *illom*, and from thence began the custom of "no ceremonies for Brahmins without the assistance of a Sudra."‡

A word about their females before we conclude. They differ in essential respects from their sisters of the East Coast. In beauty and cleanliness of person they have few equals in the

* Mr. Nagam Anjah in his Travancore Census Report. 1891, gives a very glowing picture of this Perhaps it refers to a golden "age" that is past

† I refer to the Mappila risings. All of them have brought this point before the public very prominently. In all of them, it is significant to note, wealthy Nambudri Jenmies were the chief victims.

‡ Indian Antiquary, 1875, page 255.

land. They have no craze for costly ornaments and clothes. A pair of gold ear-rings of a peculiar make, some rings for the nose and the fingers, brass bangles for the arm, and a *tali* for her neck are the usual ornaments of a Nambudri female. White is not with them an emblem of widowhood as with their sisters in other lands and they always dress in spotless white. A long country-made coarse cloth round her waist and a coarse sheet of the same kind of cloth, serving the function of a bodice make the full complement of a Nambudri lady's dress. As their name "Anthanjanam or Akathammars" (women inside the house) indicates, they observe strict rules of seclusion. "The married female is not allowed to be seen by any male, even of the family or her caste people. She is to move under the screen or cover of a large sized umbrella and is always to be attended by a female servant who goes before her (calling out Ahai, Ahai) whenever she steps out of doors."* Like the Brahmin ladies of other parts, they observe perpetual widowhood, but unlike them, they do not shave their heads, or in any other way disfigure their persons. Suttee is forbidden and infant marriage is never the practice.

K. N CHETTUR, B.A., B.L.

* Shankunni Menon's "History of Travancore," page 76.

ART. XIII.—OUR PRESENT RULERS AND CHIEFS.

I RECKON these to be nine in number, the chief of course being His Excellency the Viceroy. They stand in the following order:—The Viceroy, Governor of Bombay, Governor of Madras, the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, and Burmah, and the Chief Commissioners of Assam and the Central Provinces. The Viceroy has a general control and supervision over the whole, Bombay and Madras, however, having their appointments made from home, being almost absolutely out of his personal interference. The four Lieutenant-Governors he nominates from Indian officers, and though they are his Lieutenants, and theoretically he can interfere with them, he shows a wise prudence in refraining from doing so. Practically knowing little or next to nothing of these great governments, he would be rash to intrude and only betray his own ignorance. Assam and the Central Provinces, being only Chief Commissionerships, may be reckoned still more directly under him; but, as a matter of fact, these receive the least of his care and attention. He, thus, has nearly the whole of his time free. And it is supposed that the present Viceroy, when he is not spending his time in pleasant retreats in the Himalayas, or writing out some of his "speeches"—he is said to have some half a dozen always ready in advance for occasions—is engaged in rummaging about old records and papers—of which there are shiploads—for antiquarian purposes or to gain some old buried and lost ideas, and put them forth as quite new and his own. But even all these pleasant and diverting ways of passing the time do not quite occupy him; hence his creation of a new Frontier Province directly and immediately under him.

I am, however, anticipating. One of old gave utterance to a thought deep in the nature of things: "the first shall be last, and the last first"—nor that there is any implication here that Mr. Frazer will become Viceroy. But I have always found it helping me, in going through anything, to take "the last" first. This is the order pursued even by philosophic students of nature: "from nature to nature's God." And, in smaller matters, it does well to get rid of the little things first, reserving thus one's strength to deal with the greatest or toughest job last. Hence, in these brief sketches I furnish, I shall proceed, in due order, from the last to the first of the above-noted small and great Indian Chiefs and Rulers we have now in charge of the country.

First, then, comes the small-great "Honourable Mr. Frazer, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces." He is "small," because he is the last on the list, but "great" in the estimation of his scribe who furnishes the notes and reports about him to the *Pioneer*. He is also only "Honourable;" for a Lieutenant-Governor is styled "His Honour," a Governor "His Excellency," the Viceroy himself being "His Mightiness the Great Mogul." The Honourable Mr. Frazer was born in India, being the son of an old Missionary, like Mr. Merk, Commissioner of the Derajat, and a few others who might be named who have got on pretty well in the service. Being an "Indian" Mr. Frazer knows Indian ways, and perhaps has them bred in him, and regards a word of praise in the *Pioneer* sufficient to advance him in the matter of promotion. Unlike the other Chief Commissioners of the Central Provinces, who were brought from outside—and thus had wide and varied experience of India,—in the graduated order of promotion to higher offices, Mr. Frazer began his career in the Central Provinces, and has always been there. He thus became Chief Commissioner by seniority; for what else was to be done with him? From a mere Commissionership there he could not well be promoted and put over other and larger governments. An effort, indeed, was made for a brief while under a previous Viceroy, to give him a chance of showing his worth, by appointing him to the Acting Home Secretaryship, but he failed so egregiously in coming up to the mark that he was relegated back to his original sphere. Such is Mr. Frazer, who gets such neatly-written accounts in the *Pioneer* of how condescendingly and gracefully he moved about among his guests at Pachmarhi, almost as a Viceroy would do at a Government House party, or how he opened such a Spinning Mill, or met such and such villagers at such a village. His time in the Central Provinces will be up some time, and the question is, what to do with him? He knows nothing of India outside of his own present rule, or else he might look forward to the Chief Commissionership of Assam, as a step for further promotion afterwards. Sir Charles Lyall jumped from the Central Provinces to the India Council, but Sir Charles was a scholar, and had been previously long tried as Secretary to the Government of India. A minor post about the India Office at home, too, would not be coveted by Mr. Frazer even if he could fulfil the duties attached to it, for, as said before, his associations are all Indian. Of course he might get Assam, but Assam is probably reserved for Mr. Fuller. To put him on to Burmah on Sir Frederick Fryer's departure would be to risk good government there, and probably too great for him to look forward to.

What an unhappy position!—there is nowhere he can be either placed, or promoted, and like a previous Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces who had grown locally, Colonel Neele, the present post will have to be his last. He could not even be placed out to watch our relations at the Nizam's Court, which requires diplomatic art of a high order. Mr. Fuller has some claims for Assam and will doubtless get it; but he may resign his claims in favour of Mr. Frazer, thus giving the latter a chance. One of the most difficult, as well as delicate, tasks of a Viceroy is to adjust conflicting claims for high appointments. Mr. Frazer has done nothing as yet for the Central Provinces—not even been actively moving about his extensive charge as Sir Richard Temple did—to bring him forward, or specially recommend him for promotion. And mere "seniority" will not serve him any further than what he has got to. But—and it is a big But—the *Pioneer* is his friend. I come next to Mr. Cotton, Chief Commissioner of Assam.

Unlike Mr. Frazer, Mr. Cotton is a clever writer and pretty active though like him he is a pro-Native. Mr. Cotton first brought himself to notice by making a high bid for (future) promotion to the Bengal Government by writing his *New India*—a work of which the less said the better. Further, his expression of pro-Bengali ideas was so marked as almost to create consternation. After having served as Secretary and so forth, he was "shunted" off to Assam to get rid of him. He has done nothing in Assam as yet, and the end of his term is near. The Railways were projected before him, and even for the Chittagong line the credit is due to the Hon'ble D. R. Lyall, late Member of the Board of Revenue. He has only, after marked "chumming" with a leading member of the Tea fraternity in the columns of the *Indian Daily News* in the matter of extending the Permanent Settlement into Assam, fallen foul of the very Tea-planting community lately with his Assam Labour Bill. Mr. Cotton, thus, has shown no fitness for promotion to Burmah, least of all for such a mighty charge as the eighty millions of varied interests and diverse races of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. He may, however, yet get Burmah on the principle of those children being most loved who give the most trouble. And he will be far enough away in Burmah to go into as many vagaries as he likes. Perhaps even from there he will give trouble. It is a pity he cannot go through the term of a Secretary to the Government of India, so that the Viceroy may tame him down, "comb" him, lick him into shape, and make him think a little less of himself and his pet theories.

My next subject is Sir Frederick Fryer, Lieutenant-Governor

of Burmah. Burmah is well out of India, and requires special treatment, and Sir Frederick Fryer has been able to supply this with his long and intimate knowledge of the country. He is not a brilliant man, nor has he quite pleased the European independent element in Burmah, who would gladly see the country placed under the Colonial Office. As Sir Frederick Fryer will shortly retire, and does not look forward to further promotion, there is little more to be said about him. It is quite possible, however, that he may be induced to take Bengal. If so, Bengal could not wish for a safer man, and one without crotchets.

Next comes Sir Mackworth Young of the Punjab. Like most of the Punjab Lieutenant-Governors, Sir Mackworth Young had gone through a certain preparation for his office, and reputably has done well. It is reported, however, that his presence in Simla has been personally unacceptable to the Viceroy, and that not only has that been the cause of determining the latter to carry out at once the relieving him of the outlying and most important parts of his dominion, but of even requesting him to remove his summer quarters elsewhere—Lord Curzon being, it is said, unable to stand a Scotchman, and also, like a certain character in Pope, to "bear a brother near the throne." This removal is purposeless, and will cost an immense sum, but the present Viceroy has a facility for spending public money in such ways, and also a facility for explaining their reasonableness which he alone can perceive. As we shall see after, he is a peculiarly gifted mortal in many, if not in most respects. But to return to Sir Mackworth Young;—he has been particularly unfortunate in having doubly reduced the importance and *prestige* of the Punjab as the most important and fighting division of India, and as being almost one with the summer court and capital of the Viceroy. The glory of the Punjab, however, as having cost us the severest campaigns, as furnishing the finest fighting men, as containing the most and best troops, as having helped to turn the tide in the Mutiny, as having been the great acquisition of the greatest Proconsul India has known, as having furnished the finest adminstrators from the commencement under Sir John Lawrence and his famous band of Lieutenants, as containing three such cities as Delhi, Lahore, and Amritsar, and as being still the bulwark of India against invasion from the North-West, and where the brunt of the battle will fall, can never depart for all the funny efforts of a weak-minded Viceroys whose evil work may be undone by his successor or some future imperious Dalhousie who will brook no resistance to his will. The whirligig of time sometimes brings on sudden and startling revenges, and the present

Viceroy may live to see some of them. In any case, Sir Mackworth Young leaves the Punjab shortly, and his successor is variously named. In it is one of the Prizes of the service, but now not to be compared with either the North-West Provinces or Bengal. There would have been a choice of men had Mr. Holderness continued in India. Unfortunately, there are no very prominent men to draw from Madras or Bombay, as has sometimes been done before. Mr. Rivaz has been generally named for the past, and probably the choice will rest on him.

Sir Antony MacDonal, as he spells his Gaelic name since he became Chief in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, will also shortly vacate his post. He has gone through almost all India—saving of course Bombay and Madras—except the Punjab. He began life in Bengal, and rose step by step by dint of sheer—what shall I call it? The young man from the Galway bogs could not be repressed. He had a head on his shoulders. There is not an official in India, not even the present Viceroy, who could have written Sir Antony's masterly minutes on the Bengal Lands Survey Question, or unravelled the old Forest jumble, or got through the complicated North-West Provinces Tenancy Question. And Sir Antony has been equally vigorous and all-guiding and supervising in the awful famines he has had to cope with. But just as "virtue is its own reward," so he must be content to bear the practical non-recognition of his superabounding merits by an ungrateful country and find his extinction probably in the Secretary of State's Council. He cannot hope to be a future Governor of Bombay after Lord Northcote's excellent rule, though there have been Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Richard Temple there. At all events, the young Galway man cannot complain that the Fates have been unkind to him, and it is a startling fact that well-nigh the whole service in the North-West Provinces and Oudh will be glad of his departure. I wonder what the Viceroy would have done had Sir Antony been the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab instead of Sir Mackworth Young. I do firmly believe that instead of the Lieutenant-Governor having to shift his quarters, Sir Antony would have compelled Lord Curzon to have moved away to Mussoorie, or even Darjeeling, in fact, any where out of near proximity to Sir Antony. The question also arises, who will take Sir Antony's place? Universal public opinion in the North-West Provinces whether European or Native, where they know him best, points to Mr. La Touche, the sweetest-dispositioned and kindest-hearted man going, who, as Sir Antony's Chief Secretary, managed to make his unbearable rule endurable.

Bengal, too, must soon lose Sir John Woodburn. Sir John

Woodburn, unlike Sir Antony MacDonal, has never attracted much public notice. How, from being quite unknown, he happened to get the Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces, and thence was quietly transferred to the Government of India Secretariat, was at one time matter of comment. Then he got on to Bengal to the exclusion of Sir Antony, who was looking for it. Perhaps it is as well he did so, for Bengal has had a peaceful and tranquil time under him. One of his principal acts was to undo the work of Sir Antony in the matter of the Survey Settlement, whereby he gained the lasting gratitude of the Bengali Zemindars. He has also always stuck by the Service; and somehow or other has not managed to rouse the wrath of the Bengali Press—which is a remarkable feat for any one, as I may predict Lord Curzon will find for himself before he leaves a couple years hence. I cannot account for Sir John's success all through, except his quiet steadiness in work. Unlike previous Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, Sir John Woodburn had no meteoric career previously. Who will be his successor? Of course the vaulting ambition of Mr. Cotton would like to see himself appointed. I am afraid, however, that a long course of Burmah is before him before he can hope for Bengal, and that this will be reserved for Sir Frederick Fryer if he can be induced to take it. If not——? In Bengal itself, at present, there is no one approaching Mr. Buckland, the Chief Secretary, for experience and ability, but as the Viceroy does not like ability when too near him Mr. Buckland has not much chance. He may be pushed on to Assam if Mr. Frazer or Mr. Fuller does not get it. But although Assam of the present day offers the fullest field for a really able man, and Mr. Buckland may make his mark there and bring on Chittagong as an outlet for the produce of Eastern Bengal, I feel that Mr. Buckland's talents and abilities will be quite lost in it.

I need not take up Madras at length. Lord Ampthill has done nothing as yet beyond paying a first visit round a small part of the country. His antecedents as one out of several Private Secretaries to Mr. Chamberlain, and one whom he was willing to lose, do not say or promise much for him. His career will probably be like that of most Madras Governors: a respectable mediocrity, with a return to private life at home.

Still less need be said of Lord Northcote of Bombay. He has had to combat both famine and plague. He has not belied expectations, and further, has won the esteem, and even the affection of Bombay. He is said to be no favourite with Lord Curzon, and that there exist no cordial relations between the two. Of course he is practically independent, and it matters little. It is strange, however, that Lord Curzon should be at

differences with so many of his great strong subordinate satraps, and in this case where Lord Northcote is so universally loved.

I have now arrived at the last and toughest part of my delicate pencillings to delineate "His mightiness the Great Mogul" as I have styled him, or rather, as he grandiosely styled himself in one of his many speeches, for he is a great speechifyer. With a firm conviction of being superior to every one else, and yet belying that conviction by being unable to bear ability—so unlike, thus, to Lord Dalhousie, who could pick out ability, and have them about him, for Lord Dalhousie himself was able in the last degree and had no fear of being outshone—he began speechifying about everything before even he had left England, making the most wonderful promises of what his performances were to be in India. So far, and the most part of his Viceroyalty is past, his performances have lain in the line of things he "ought not to have done." But what he has done may be glanced at. *——

JUNIUS, JUNIOR. C.S.

* [We must ask "J. J.'s" permission to cut short, for the present, his very severe observations on the Viceroy—the length too, of this latter portion being equal to all that has gone before! J. J. divides his remarks on the Viceroy into— Not pulling well with various "Governors and Governments;" offending large and influential public classes and masses as the Army with his Shooting Rules, the Native Princes with his Travel Resolution; neglecting to hear the representation of the Disabilities of Native Christians in South India; ignoring entirely the Hindus, *i.e.*, the nation in India in both the Victoria Memorial and in his mention of Delhi; while as a contrast, markedly favouring the Mahomedans, and even going out of his way to do so; despising the Anglo-Indian or "Eurasian" body of North India many of whom have been and are officers in the Army and in the Civil Service (it is specially mentioned that the late Colonel Warburton, "Warden of the Marches," was an Anglo-Indian or Eurasian); interfering with the Civil Courts as in the Hoff case, where, to anyone who knows, it was all a conspiracy against Hoff, and the Jurors were right; losing India the services of men of the finest intellect and sense of justice as Mr. Pennell, and of the keenest sense of honour and highest services as Mr. Fanshawe; descending to writing in home magazines, and then even not telling the truth about Delhi, and otherwise misrepresenting things in favour of his pet sectional museum scheme, which he has foisted on the public in the "Memorial" and which is sure to become a dismal failure; advocating impossible and absurd curtailment of Reports; and other things too numerous for us to further enumerate—even to his gush! If we do come to print the remainder of "J. J.'s" article, we must supply the antidote with it. We do not think further that it is yet time to judge of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. For ourselves we believe him to be honest, hard-working, and with large and sincere views of the welfare of the country, even if somewhat unusual in his ways and ideas, or inexperienced or quite Western and non-Oriental. We also have every hope he will really achieve something solid and substantial before he leaves India. As yet he has been mostly a learner, and there is much to learn of India even for the oldest and most thoughtful and observant.—*Ed., C.R.*]

ART. XIV.—THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

DURING 1898 there appeared several articles in this *Review* on "South African Problems" dated from Pietermaritzburg, and over the signature of the same writer who now pens these few lines. The Boer War had not then commenced; nor was it even contemplated by any one. The writer of the articles had exceptional facilities for knowing both Boers and Britons, often working and living along with the former; at the same time that he was connected with a number of influential organs of public opinion. These organs, save one in the Orange River State, were rabidly anti-Boer and pro-Rhodes and the League and Capitalist party who followed him. But the writer's efforts were always directed, where possible, to allay passions, and to set things in their true and proportional light. So, too, it was in the articles referred to in this *Review*. These articles had not only the large and influential circulation of the regular readers of the *Review* itself in both India and England, and also America, but were specially circulated among leading politicians at Home and in South Africa. How true was every word written in them may be seen by referring to them. We have not the space here, however, to quote them either in their entirety or by whole pages. We would only point out that of the two courses that we said then lay open to Mr. Chamberlain, he chose the worst; that the Boers have truly proved a "hard nut to crack;" and that the "Black" trouble,—greater than any we have yet encountered in South Africa,—still looms in the future, even if the Boers became one with the English, which is not likely. It might be merely a coincidence, but immediately we left South Africa, and our influence in the press and in private was removed, the powers of evil there, as represented by the mendacious *League* and their willing slaves the Uitlander scum of all the nations of the globe parading and masquerading as Britons—whom even Lord Roberts himself had to refuse permission to stay in the Transvaal (who, however, cowards as they were, mostly themselves cleared out on the first outbreak of war!); these all gained head, and by lying "Petitions" and the like carried the day with the press, the public, the parliament, and the Ministry at Home. Any discussion even that was possible was marred by "Imperial Jingoism" on the one side, and Pro-Boerism on the other. *Delenda est Carthago* expressed the sentiments of the one party, just as complete, independence and freedom from impertinent and ignorant interference the sentiments

of the other party. With a Chamberlain at the helm at home and a Milner representing him at the Cape, instead of the old race of high diplomats and experienced rulers,—with people not understanding the Dutch character,—with the cries of the Uitlanders and the Gold party; with England's apprehensions on the one side and the Boer's apprehensions on the other; all these capped by the Jingo cry of "revenge for Majuba", and the call for more troops, and Kruger's Pride of Place, Wealth and Power, things soon reached—as they were bound to—a crisis, and there resulted the "Ultimatum" and the War.

Both sides were to blame. The Transvaal, as represented by Kruger, might have easily yielded without loss of dignity or substantial rights. Milner, too, might have made the pill less bitter. But British and Boer alike did not understand each other. And there was no all-wise, experienced and powerful Mediator. Mr. Chamberlain will see these lines, and will know that long before things began to come to a head—when the troubles were only brewing—he received private representations to get the accomplished and experienced, the suave and the strong, Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, sent out with full powers to heal all the differences, as he surely would have done. But in his, Chamberlain's, Pride of Place and Power, he neglected these representations. It is an utter mistake of Lord Salisbury, whose mind became receptive to a lie, to say that there was a previous "conspiracy" against British dominion in South Africa, and it is as well we found it out in time. The alleged "conspiracy" is an after-invention—not of Lord Salisbury's—to bolster up the Jingo party. Some criminatory documents have been discovered, belonging to a few isolated individuals, to support this theory and the preparation of armaments has been brought forward in confirmation of it. But there are always crank and wild heads everywhere, and the thing as *a settled Boer policy*, is utterly preposterous. And we know it to be false. The Boers could see trouble coming with the formation of the *League*, and the support accorded to it by Mr. Rhodes and the misguided Press at Home, and would have been less than human if they did not prepare for eventualities. But as for contesting with Great Britain the dominion of South Africa, it simply never entered their heads. It was only their own independence they regarded or cared for; and it was only when they thought, rightly or wrongly, that that independence was threatened, that they took the initiative. Both these were mistakes, and under the circumstances we may well overlook them. It is probable that we, or any other nation, would have done just the same.

In the continuance of the War both have shone equally—

both have won successes and renown—and the Boers more than renown: the respect of their enemies and the admiration of the world. Let us be frank: there is probably no other people—except perhaps the Scotch—and they number millions to the tens of thousands of the Boers—who would have fought, and often successfully, against a *British* Army ten times their number and led by the ablest generals for over two years, and are fighting still though three-fourths of them are either in the grave or in captivity. As an honorable and brave people we must accord honor to this brave—even if mistaken—nation. Is it then impossible now, without being ranked as *Boerish*—without being ranked along with the Boers in pride and obstinacy, which always somehow defeat themselves, to pursue a *via media*, giving England her due share, which is the supreme dominion and sovereignty of South Africa (barring the German strip, which is sure to come up by-and-bye) and giving the Boer his, which is an autonomy such as that enjoyed by all our Colonies, and which is all that the Boers want? They do not contest the supreme over-lordship of England—if they entertained the idea in the heat engendered on the first outbreak of War, they have long since given it up. We repeat the question is it impossible to give England her due share, and the Boer his? It is because there is such a *via media*, one in accordance too with justice, that I pen these lines.

In the consideration of this most important matter the outer limits are—

first for England to render any attempt to make head against her again impossible; and secondly, for the Boer to have his Dutch feeling of independence respected.

Between these two outside limits, there is room enough to bring the two together in peace. The Boers are willing enough for the first, and their fortresses levelled with the ground. They have no further need of arsenals and military stores, artillery, etc. Without all these, which alone could enable them again to make war; with ten thousand troops at Johannesburg—for the Boers may probably be glad to get rid of the Rand, which has been the cause of all these troubles,—an equal number in the Highlands of Natal, and an equal force at Kimberley or near there; any further atttempt would be chimerical. I have said that the Boers may be glad enough to get the Rand off their hands. This strip of territory should be British, and joined on to Natal, or formed into a British Colony by itself. It would thus part off the two Boer States of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony or State whichever it may be. It would also serve two other all-important purposes—besides the previously named one of being the locale of a British garrison—the one being to help to pay off

the cost of this fratricidal struggle, and to keep the Boer Transvaal Government poor, so as to be unable in future to spend millions on armaments and their Hollander ridden services. Pretoria, however, would be included in the Dutch State—Pretoria dismantled, and never again to be fortified. For the Rand strip a small outlet to the sea North of Zululand may be given to the Boers as an *act of favour* and as bringing her within the pale, and commercial activity, of a British Colony.

What remains is, are the Boers willing to have a modified independence, and in what form should it be to "save their face."

England is quite sick and tired of the war. England has no dastardly revengeful wish to completely wipe such a brave and magnificent race out of existence. Hence she is willing to forego further bloodshed if the first of the above-considered objects—her supreme dominion—is secured. It is not a question of that the Boers must be brought down on their knees—or annihilated. If Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey from among the liberal leaders, or Lord Hardwicke and others from among the Tories wish for that—for their reported words would almost seem to imply that—they misread themselves, and even the true instincts of noble and heroic England that would fight the world in arms if need be, and that would not treat cruelly the worst enemy.

As we have seen above, the supreme dominion of England can be secured, and the Boers themselves are willing to acknowledge it, and to be ranked as a British-protected State. There can, therefore, be no further question about this.

The second is, in what form should the modified independence be? How is this, which the Boers want, to be given them without our suffering in the estimation of the world? I do not see where the estimation of the world comes in when we annex Johannesburg as "the spoils of war," get the costs of the war paid, draw the teeth and claws of the Boer lion, render future trouble impossible, and get the Boer State to become a part and parcel of our dominion. The real thing remaining is the "saving of our face," and the "saving of the Boer's face." The former, as has been shown above, is sufficiently done; and if we are content, the "rapscallion" element of Europe may "estimate" us just as much or as little as they like. Surely we as a world-power do not exist by the grace of such estimation. The Boer "face," however, has also to be "saved"—and they fully deserve it. And this can only be done, simultaneously with the dismantling of their forts, and the allotment of the intervening Rand strip or

British Colony, by giving them their modified and protected autonomy immediately following the declaration of their surrender. Let it be an "unconditional surrender," let them take back the Pretoria and northern portion of the Transvaal even as our gift, but let it be understood, that their own Government, etc., immediately and necessarily follow their declaration —the very day. This will "save their face," make the war to at once cease, and bring an honorable and lasting termination of war.

To any one who wishes peace in South Africa, and a firm foundation laid for the future brotherhood, and even union of the races, the above course—which is also the only possible one—will commend itself. There can be no real objection to let the few and poor Boers enjoy their barren and rocky patrimony in their own way. Even "capitalists" will not covet the sterile veldts of the North and the East, or the Rustenberg fields.

There is no previous "Crown Colony" Government needed for the course set forth above. Indeed, the "Crown Colony" Government, and martial rule, all come into it—are included in it in the "unconditional surrender" declaration of the Boers.

Let then, Lord Kitchener be authorised to allow the Boer Governments to enter on negotiations on the above basis. All the rest are mere matters of detail.

But—and here I write with the emphasis of writing from knowledge and not theorising—if the way sketched above in outline be not followed, and war is continued till it degenerates into murder, and then an enforced Military rule, to be succeeded by a "Crown Colony" Government, the result will be as surely as the Boers are what they are, and the sun shines in Africa, there will be, not merely, say, 20,000 troops in garrison, but 50,000 troops; there will be not a cessation of expenditure, but a huge sum will be required annually for an indefinite period; there will not be peace, but sure outbreaks on favourable opportunities. And for all this, we may as well retire altogether and at once from South Africa. "The game is not worth the candle!"

A. M. C.

ART. XV.—ACROSS THE PELOPONNESUS.

I.—OLYMPIA TO ANDRITSÆNA.

"Afoot and light-hearted I take to the open road.
Walt Whitman

ANDRITSÆNA was our destination and Andritsæna was said to be twelve hours' journey away. Therefore it was that it behoved us to make an early start; we were stirring long before the dawn and breakfasting by candle-light. There are two routes that may be followed from Olympia to Andritsæna; one which ascends the valley of the Alpheus for six hours (we measure distance by hours in the mountains of Greece) before crossing the stream and turning S. This was followed by Professor Mahaffy and may be found described in his delightful "Rambles and Studies" (Chapter XII). The other, which, on deliberation we chose, crosses the river a little below Olympia and winds into the hills in a consistent S. E. trend. Two guides from Athens, whom we met yesterday with the party from the "Argonaut," insisted that it was a two days' journey; such is the manner of guides being for the most part luxurious and pampered animals, prosperous, and portly. Professor Mahaffy rode by the one route and we walked the other within the day.*

On quitting the hotel our first business was to get across the river and to that end to find the ferry. At the hotel despite its high pretensions and our English-speaking host we could get little information that was satisfactory, so we had to trust to fortune and a brief reconnoitring of the road the previous evening. Murray puts the ferry at three-quarters of an hour's distance. We found it within a mile. Descending by a middle track gradually towards the river we sighted in about twelve minutes, a largest flat-bottomed boat—or rather punt—moored to the opposite bank and pushing on came to a little rustic hut and another boat of like kind on our side. So far good, but there was neither ferryman nor oar. The river here looks deep and runs rather swiftly, and its breadth is as the breadth of the Thames between Oxford and Godstow.

We wondered how long we should have to wait, chafing at the delay (for the day promised to be hot, our goal was far, the way unknown), but, there being nothing else to be done, lit pipes and watched the water. There seemed no one at all about, but presently a man sauntered into view on the further bank, in appearance suggesting the town rather than the country and certainly not at all like a ferryman. At him we shouted the

* Cf. "The Alpheus at Olympia is broad and rapid, and about the breadth and colour of the Tiber at Rome."
Dodwell *Tour Through Greece*, II, p. 336.

nearest we could attain to a question in the vernacular, but he remained wholly impassive. However, just as we were debating the wisdom of going back to the hotel and impressing a boy to punt us over, a brisk form swung down the path above us and the ferryman had come. He tried to extort two drachmas from us, which was impudently excessive, but we were, at all events, on the right side of the Alpheus!

From the river side the path slanted across the level fields, at one time merging in something very like a dry ditch, and led obviously towards a dip in the low ridge bordering the valley. So far, at all events, our way was made plain before us, and very pleasant it was, winding up in the morning freshness, passing on the way peasants and cattle and mules and sheep. Incidentally we stop a run-away pony for its panting owner and exchange vernacular greetings with all and sundry. 'Kalemàirass' (καλὴν ἡμέραν σᾶς, good-day to you) is a simple formula and easily learnt, and friendly greeting between those who pass in high-way or bye-way is the kindly custom of the land.

On topping our dip we had before us a little town, by name Mākreésia; very spruce and new and suggestive of progress. Here we made a turn to the left into a fairly good cart-road leading towards Créstena (Cráistěnă) our first route-mark. We reached Créstena by 8 o'clock, a fair-sized town in a hollow of a varied up and down country. Here we made trial of the wine of the country, which requires a educated palate or, at all events, an exceeding great thirst. Providently, too, we bought a small store of lemons for the way: because one cannot be sure of finding drink when once committed to a road or mountain track in Greece, neither from the wayside khan nor from stream or spring in the Greek hills (than which no purer or more refreshing draught is to be found anywhere), and on a hot day in default of these a lemon will be found a most acceptable antidote to thirst.

The neighbourhood of Créstena has an interest as being associated with Xenophon's later years after his return from the expedition of Cyrus and his subsequent banishment from Athens. The territory of Skillus, assigned to him by the Spartans, where he built a temple to Artemis and passed his time in writing books and in field sports, was somewhere hereabouts, and a stream we presently cross is probably the Selinus. (Paus. V, vi, 5.)

We are now following a white and dusty but exceedingly civilized road through open country with the long range of Caiapha somewhat to the right and far ahead loftier limestone ridges, together forming a long barrier which doubtless screens Andritæna. It is Sunday morning; and we meet great companies of folk all wending towards Créstena, whether

to Church or no, who shall say? All regard us curiously. It is soon very hot and the breeze which keeps us going comes fitfully. More than one halt in a shady nook is necessary before we reach higher ground and are freshened by a really cool breeze. After a time we begin winding into hill country and a great snowy crest is discernible in the distance to the far north (*i. e.*, behind and to the left), doubtless Atra Vouno, near neighbour of Erymanthos.

Precisely at 11 A. M. a strange thing happens. Our road suddenly gives out. The fair and broad high-road which has taken us thus far securely, breaks off sheer and literally precipitates us into the wilderness. Back the white carriage-way stretches firm and safe and comfortably obvious; forward across a fringe of broken earth, that looks as if it had been only yesterday turned up by the spade, are fields strewn with rugged stones, round which the young grain waves like a sea over a reef of rocks. Perched on a hill to the right is a village, what we have not a notion. Obviously, it is necessary to gather information. A woman and some children are to be seen in a field by a dry waterway. Towards them we steer a careful course through the sea of grain. A dog, first met of the truculent dogs of Hellas, greets us with furious menace, but we find out that the village is Gremka and the path lies somewhere above. Accordingly we climb towards Gremka, and on reaching the houses naturally choose wrongly amid a labyrinth of paths and get involved. An attempt to enter a yard for enquiry brings out three or four savage watch-dogs, who charge down open-mouthed as if to devour us. We draw back to more favourable ground and form a sort of hollow square, till relieved by a pleasant old lady who puts us right for the main street of Gremka.

Fairly arrived in Gremka we are at once the object of curiosity and interest and soon the centre of a group of idlers, one in a broad-cloth and an Alpine hat, two or three in fur-tanella and leggings, the rest non-descript. They hem us in with greetings and enquiries, borrow our field-glasses and eagerly compete for a view. In return one brings a noble stoup of wine and we pledge the company. They ply us with questions, where have we come from, what are we, whither are we going and why, but conversation is not easy, as we only catch with understanding one word in six. One friend more solicitous urges the distance of Andritsæna and the wisdom of stopping for the night at Gremka. We get free as soon as we conveniently can and make on hopefully along what is now a mountain track. The way forward, however, is largely conjectural. Twice when the ways divide we are only hindered from taking the wrong path by the fortunate accident that some

one is there at the critical moment to put us right; for instead of ascending the way at first leads downwards. But before we have gone very far we are hailed from behind and overtaken by one of our lately-made acquaintances from the village, who soon makes it clear that he purposes to make himself responsible for our further safe conduct. Impressed with the bewildering superfluity of irrelevant mountain paths on the way to Andritsæna, we acquiesce with resignation, almost with alacrity.

At each turn of the track, which soon leads steadily up, the view widens. About noon we reach a rounded knole, clear of trees, high up, from which a splendid view opens back to the mountains of Achaia. Here we insist on halting for lunch, reclining in the scanty shade of some bushes on the steep below and drink the cool mountain air with thankfulness. Leesandros (Λύσανδρος), that is our guide's name, points out the most conspicuous summits by name The view sweeps across the breadth of the Peloponnesus almost from end to end. Right opposite is Atra-Vouno with Erymantho immediately behind; somewhat to the right (*i.e.*, East) is what "Lêesandros" calls Korintho-Vouno, but we conjecture to be Chelmos. The third snowy mass is much further to the east, right across the Peloponnesus, and is most probably Cyllene.

Delightful as is the prospect, luxurious as is our shady perch, we can make no long stay, for it is still said to be six hours to Andritsæna. On we go accordingly, up and down through magnificent and varied scenery, now along a pine clad steep, now across a rough ravine, now through a cultivated valley. Our party increases as we go, for we fall in with a little string of travellers going our way, with whom our guide join company; a quaint caravan of nearly a dozen we finally make, men and boys, besides a small yellow dog of alert and combative disposition.

After about a couple of hours the party pauses for rest and refreshment at a wayside khan. We are glad enough to rest too, and lie outstretched on a rustic bench under an oak and drink water from a spring near. When our little company is again ready for a start Lęesandros takes his leave commending us to one of the party whose destination is presumably the same as ours Up and up we climb again through stony places and by the roughest of tracks. Sometimes for a respite we get a level piece through cultivated ground, but for the most part the track is of the stoniest variety indigenous to Greece, that is to say, roughly strewn with small rocks, rounded or jagged as happens, through which one stumbles as best one can, and when not steeply up, then

generally steeply down. How four-footed beasts with burdens (and without boots) pick their way among the stones and boulders is a marvel to the stranger.

Our general tendency has all along been upward, but late in the afternoon we find ourselves traversing a long and gentle incline very nearly level over a sweep of broad upland bordered by great mountain ridges. We have a kodak with us and it makes a diversion to drop behind and snap-shot the caravan.

Here too, for the first time in Greece, we hear the familiar voice of the cuckoo coming pleasantly across from the ridge on our left. Our companions are surprised to hear that the cuckoo has the same name in England too! Curiously we do not hear the cuckoo again till the very last of our walking days in Greece, on the way down from Delphi, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Livadhia.

At the end of this incline we come to a dry river-bed, and here most of the party turn off to make for a 'choreeo' (*χωρίον*) which can be seen perched high up on the ridge to the right front. We follow our remaining guide across the river-bed, and on mounting a rough hill-side reach another small khan at the top, on a bench in front of which two fully armed and accoutred Greek linesmen are resting. Our guide explains that they act as police in the mountain; 'asteenomœ' (*ἀστυνόμοι*) is his word for police. Here again a short rest and a drink. Our guide says only an hour to 'Andritsæna or a little more, and we plod on. But it is a very long hour and our steps grow heavier and heavier. Still on and up winding round along the ridge to the right. Twilight comes on, the last hour becomes two and a long two at that: the path is rough as ever and we stumble on from stone to stone, till it becomes something of a struggle to keep going at all. "Where, Oh where is Andritsæna?" "Quite near" says our guide cheerfully; but still we find no sign of human habitation, still less of civilized town or village. At last about half past seven we fairly sight the lights of houses round a dip in the lofty ridge along which we have been moving; and now we strike into another genuine carriage-road—(*δημόσιος δρόμος*) as they call it on the way to Andritsæna. More than once before in the course of our march beyond Gremka we came upon a newly-made bridge, broad enough for a road-way, which carried us over a small chasm or across a torrent-bed. It seems plain that some day there is to be a carraiage-road all the way from Crestena to Andritsæna; but there is still some stiff work for the engineer before it is done.

Once and again also we came upon a stretch of roughly-wrought cobble stones extending over a section of our way. "*Τούρκικον*"

quoth our guide feelingly, meaning that it was an attempt at road-building by the Turks. We learnt to know (and shun if possible) these lengths of Turkish road. Very evil are they—a fitting relic of Turkish administrative methods. Man and beast avoid them sedulously, and wherever they occur, there you will find also, if there is space for it a narrow border track without paving stones, and to this you stick, if you are wise. Sometimes there is nothing for it, but to go over the uneven stones, and then you flounder as best you can, and are lucky if you escape without bruises. For these stone path-ways, like the Turks who had them constructed, are the very devil.

Gladly did we hail the lights of Andritsæna and soon were walking along the village street. Our guide takes us straight to the abode of Antoni Leondarites, who entertains the stranger and is even inscribed in Murray. The house overlooks the main street and is reached through a small side alley and by a flight of steps. We are well received by Antoni himself, a bearded Greek rather handsomely dressed, who leads through a small courtyard and under a dark entry and ushers us into a spacious room, where we throw off our packs and drop into chairs. Our guide, whose name is Socrates Paschalenos, takes his leave, after offering to conduct us to-morrow to the Steelous (Στήλους) Anglice Columns, *i.e.*, to the Temple of Bassæ. We close with it and agree to pay ten drachmas for his services rendered and in prospect.

The room is rather low-pitched, but fresh and clean and moderately furnished. There are a couple of tables, a bed, a sofa, a few chairs. Our host's European clothes hang from pegs on the walls and round a mirror some photographs are ranged.

We endeavour to express our primary need of a wash. Antoni nods and smiles comprehension. We are invited into the courtyard and are soon engaged in ablutions that are truly and gratifyingly Homeric. The brave Antoni brings a basin (λεβης); Mrs. Leondarites brings a jug and pours water over our hands.

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόῳ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα
Καλῇ, χρυσείῃ, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος*

After the exertions of the day the mountain air is keen; it is positively chilly in the house even after one has put on all ones spare apparel. Our supper is not long in preparation and consists of eggs, bread, milk and cream cheese of the country; the milk and eggs are good, but the bread and cheese a little sour. We are too tired to be critical, almost too tired to be hungry. Then to bed and sound sleep, not ill-earned.

(*To be continued.*)

* Odyss, i. 136,7.

ART. XVI.—BROTHER PRINCE AND THE BRIDE, A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY.

ON May 7th, 1834, a young medical student made the following memorandum :—"In the afternoon, at half past four, having suffered under conviction of sin fifteen months, and during the last month with the utmost agony, it pleased God, of his infinite mercy, to reveal His Son Jesus Christ to me, by faith, whilst I was in earnest prayer in my bed-room."

The journal which follows embraces the period from July 29th, 1835, to October 28th, 1839, and extracts from it were published, with a preface, in 1859, or after twenty years' mature consideration. The experiences contained therein are much the same as in all such cases of 'awakening,' and they differ from these only in the extraordinary result to which they led. Of course such 'experiences' differ with the character of the minds subjected to them, but, for all high-strung souls, the description given by Cardinal Wiseman of the period preceding the attainment of that "Peace of God, which passeth all understanding" generally applies :—

"During this tremendous probation the soul is dark, parched, and wayless, as earth without water, as one staggering across a desert, or to rise to a nobler illustration, like Him, remotely, who lay upon the ground on Olivet, loathing the cup which He had longed for beyond the sweet chalice which He had drunk with His apostles just before."

The way, we say, is much the same for all men of that peculiar temper which produces apostles and martyrs,—it is the way of the 'Valley of humiliation' leading to the hills of Beulah. The issue is in that Peace of God which passeth knowledge. But the marvel lies in the diversity of the ground, of the mental attitude, whereon that Peace is found; and herein lies the psychological problem.

The great intellect of Wiseman; the far greater intellect of Newman, found that peace, at last, only in the infallibility of a human being occupying an Italian See. For them, "the name of" the Pope "is a strong tower; the righteous runneth into it and is safe." To the beautiful soul, which on earth was Mrs. Booth, that peace lay in work, work, work, for the moral and physical health of Christ's suffering brethren around her. By some of the type of S. Bernard, or Thomas a Kempis, it is found in entire withdrawal from the world and contemplation of their own spiritual symptoms. For the extraordinary man who is the subject of this study the Peace of God is this, as stated in his journal entry of 28th October 1839 :—

"*I have passed night through the middle of self*, and now, at

length, *come out at the other side into God*, where I abide continually, day and night, waking and sleeping, without one moment's intermission."

This he explains thereon :—

"I now say, in all simplicity, that I am in *a habitual state of pure inward passiveness.*" I have now no *desires or wishes whatever.*" In his preface to the journal written twenty years later, he says that the reader will see the spirit whose progress is traced in the journal "arrived at length at home, and entering into rest, the rest that remaineth for the people of God—God Himself. He will see it perfectly delivered from the *creature* and from *self*, and perfectly restored to God."

Dean Goulburn somewhere tells an anecdote of a holy man who, on his death-bed, beckoned a disciple to him in order to communicate a secret which God had revealed to him. Eagerly bent the disciple to learn this secret of holiness from the lips of the dying saint. It was this, "to desire nothing, and to ask for nothing." Upon this Dr. Goulburn very naturally remarks that the sentiment is over-strained and false. The Master Himself teaches us to desire, to ask, to knock, to take no denial. If we want nothing else we want holiness, we want rest from sin. But He teaches us to ask, too, for our daily bread; to take to Him not only our great but our smallest needs, as children to a father. Every good thing which Wisdom may devise, which Love would give, which Power can afford, is the child's *right* from Him who brought him into the world. This claim was acknowledged on the Cross; only, as with human parents, the father must judge as to the way, the means, and the time; and the resignation shown and inculcated by the Master is resignation in this respect.

This may be, possibly, what is meant by the writer of the journal in saying "when our will hangs delicately suspended on the divine will in a holy equilibrium of inward passiveness, then is the soul in the best possible position for rendering obedience." In fact, when what is called 'free-will' has become 'Christ-will;' when the imperfect functioning of the brain has been perfected by Him from whom was the previous imperfection. For evidently the molecules of the brain can no more function, either perfectly, or imperfectly, without His operation, than can the molecules of the universe. If the motions of the molecules called stars are imperfectly organised, leading to cataclysms and chaos (whence renewal of life and order), so must it be with the brain molecules, by the same Supreme Will, producing similar catastrophes of evil tending by similar unthinkable methods to the same certain goal—PERFECTION.

This perhaps is the truth which this remarkable man means

to indicate ; as he has also shadowed forth those other truths, that there is no such break of continuity as that popularly understood by the name of 'death'—but merely a change of state, a stage of evolution. In short that nothing which lives can ever cease living. Also that sin and disease are synonymous ; that they are external affections ; that sin or any other form of madness is as much the attack of some divine agent (call it devil if you please) upon the brain, as is phthisis similarly produced in the lungs.

These truths are, however, greatly and dangerously obscured —probably in the writer's own mind, but certainly in those of his followers. To those followers Brother Prince is, not merely filled, like other saints, with the Spirit of God, but is the actual incarnation of the Holy Ghost—indeed he has frequently to protest against the error that he is himself Jesus Christ. Immortality in their view, is the attribute, not of the perfected body evolved from this grosser matter which we now inhabit but, of that fleshly envelope itself : not merely in the sense that no matter perishes, but is subject merely to dissolution resulting in other forms of synthesis, but in the sense that these very bodies will be translated to a *place* called heaven. Sin is not an imperfection in ourselves, which is in process of cure by suffering, but it has absolutely nothing to do with us, and every fault and crime is perpetrated by 'that wicked one' to whose vicarious shoulders the responsibility is comfortably transferred. Even an attack of indigestion, or a cold in the head, is not from our own imprudence, but is the malicious contrivance of 'the enemy.'

There can be no reasonable doubt, both from his published writings, from the numerous letters which he indites to members of his flock, and from the tenor of the long life passed under many critical and unfriendly eyes, that Brother Prince is a holy man ; that the Spirit of God does indeed abide with him ; and that he has certainly found that Peace of God of which Cardinal Wiseman speaks. The holiness of Brother Prince is, indeed, the ground of belief in him with many members of the Bride, shrewd level-headed persons by no means subject to hysteria. The observation of a walk in Christ which, in human eyes, appears to be without flaw coupled with intuitive perception of the truth of the cardinal points of his faith ; namely, that free-will is Christ-will, a will freed by God from imperfection ordained by God, and set free at last to follow its natural course towards God ; that sin and all other suffering result from external attack fastening upon the weak points of a nature as yet not perfected ; that Christ actually has (for 'time' is but a human idea) perfected imperfection, completed evolution, and abolished the death or

dissolution to which imperfection necessarily tends in order to further evolution: this objective observation and this subjective perception lead many men possessing sound reasons and practical minds to admit the claims of Brother Prince. The man, they see, is perfectly holy; he announces truths which they feel to be true; these facts, they say, are credentials of a Divine mission; he must surely be, as he says, an incarnation of the Holy Ghost. They, therefore, accept without reserve the revelation with which he is charged. "Behold, I come quickly." Christ's second coming shall indeed be, as Brother Prince announces, within the term of his natural life. It has been revealed to him that he is not to see physical death, but is to be translated, in the natural body, like Enoch and Elijah to meet His Lord in the air. Therefore, as he is eighty-six years of age and infirm, this second coming is immediate. Each younger member of the Bride may feel an assurance of partaking their prophet's translation. Death *may* of course come first, but, if so, it comes as a surprise and a disappointment, for the Lord is here, at the door; He must come to-day, or, if not, then to-morrow.

That for fifty years Brother Prince has announced the same message, and the Lord's coming is still delayed, staggers no one. Brother Prince does not know the day nor the hour; all that has been revealed to him is that he shall not see death but shall in his body behold the Lord. Hence, and because they believe that the Lord ascended with actually the same corporeal structure which he had inhabited as Jesus of Nazareth, therefore the body itself, that vile body of which Paul speaks, is of immense importance in the eyes of the Bride; they have no wish, like Paul, to be rid of it, and to achieve the evolution from this imperfect compound of gross gases to a more ethereal stage.

Community of goods and absolutely social life may or may not have been part of Brother Prince's original scheme, though it constitutes the system of his Agapemone in Somersetshire. Certainly nothing of the sort is practised or inculcated in the Bride, which comprises the usual social distinctions of position and means, in fact the tenets and polity of the sect are extremely and evidently purposely vague: for Brother Prince is a man of extreme sagacity, and after all, what does anything much matter when the Lord is coming to-day! One thing certainly, if not declared as binding, is rigidly practised; namely, conjugal abstinence, for the body is a thing too holy to be defiled. Another very evident characteristic of the Bride is a charity, a brotherly love, a gentleness, peace, and rest most beautiful to behold. This is the impress of 'the Beloved's' character upon his followers and it is an eminent

testimony to the beauty of that character. It is this which attracts, and will continue to attract, so many from the storm and turmoil of the Salvation Army. When the *Vis Viva* of an enthusiast in those ranks is exhausted,—as exhausted sooner or later it must be—then it is of immense importance where the degradation of energy shall leave him. Well it is for those whom it leaves at rest in the gentle bosom of the Bride.

We have above spoken of Brother Prince by the name universally used in the Bride—'the Beloved.' He himself uses only the signature 'Beloved'—being vague in this as in all things, probably purposely vague. Nor is it certain that all of 'the Bride' understand '*the* Beloved' in the usual sense. As before said, Brother Prince often protests against the error that he himself is Jesus Christ. Nevertheless the use of the term 'the Beloved,' in the prayers and exhortations of 'the Bride,' leaves the hearer often in doubt as to whether reference is made to our Saviour or to Brother Prince; and undoubtedly there is here a confusion in the minds of the worshippers which they prefer to leave undetermined. Whether in Brother Prince's own mind this confusion is determined may be judged from the following passage, written in 1859:—

"The professing people of God under the law—the Jews—in the last days of their dispensation, might have seen in Him in whom their dispensation was made perfect—Jesus Christ—*the glory of God;* they *might* have seen this, for the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His Person, were there: but what *did* they see?—*one who had a devil, and was mad.*

* * *

The professing people of God under the Gospel—the Christian church—in these the last days of *their* dispensation, may see in him in whom their dispensation is made perfect, *the likeness and glory of Christ.* They *may* see this, for *one changed into the same image from glory to glory is there.* But what *will* they see? Alas, my Lord, let them *not* see in thy beloved, the only one of her mother, and the choice one of her that bare her, *one that has a devil and is mad,* a man carnal, sensual, and selfish, a frequenter of low company, one that speaketh blasphemy, and a deceiver of the people—led by the devil into error, even whilst he was living upon Thee as truth."

Here Brother Prince draws an elaborate parallel between our Saviour and himself. He claims to bring in, like our Lord, whose likeness and glory he is, a new dispensation. He also will be rejected as our Lord was. The omission shown by asterisks in the above extract quotes the accusations of the Jews against Jesus of Nazareth, which are repeated

against Brother Prince himself as stated in the last lines of the extract. Brother Prince, like Jesus, is God's 'beloved,' for it is evident from the context that the '*hers*,' which follow the word 'beloved,' do not refer to his Church 'the Bride,' but to Brother Prince himself. All this would argue an identity between Brother Prince and Christ, and that Brother Prince is a renewed *Avtar* (Avatar) of the Godhead, or Christ come again upon Earth. But the next passage reads differently:—

"O my Beloved—Lord of my life and my everlasting hope—how truly have the reproaches of them that reproched *Thee* fallen *upon me*! As it happened to Thee for Thy Father's sake, so, O Lord, has it happened unto me for Thine."

Here, then, Brother Prince appears as 'only Christ's messenger—at the utmost as an incarnation of His Holy Spirit, His promised Comforter. At any rate he has not been further explicit as to his claims, save that he denies, in his letters to his flock, that he himself is Jesus Christ.

It will be seen that Brother Prince is under the impression that he has suffered like Christ. He always claims, as does the Bride, that his persecutions are credentials of his mission. When La Révellière-Lépeaux consulted Talleyrand regarding the reason of the failure of his new cult, and the best means of founding a religion, Talleyrand recommended him to be crucified and to rise again the third day. Mahomed, too, was greatly troubled by the lack of credentials. He appealed to the beauty of the Koran as a miracle, but the credentials upon which the Arabs finally accepted him as God's prophet were the successes of his sword. Brother Prince seems to take his stand—not, like Lépeaux, upon reason, or, like Mahomed, upon his message, but—upon his rejection and his sufferings. Rejected he certainly has been, but, on the whole, in a gentle and polite way suitable to this age. As to his sufferings scoffers say that, on the contrary, his lines have fallen in peculiarly pleasant places. Indeed, as before said, his acceptance by his followers rests upon no such credentials. They accept Brother Prince because, in their view, he is a perfectly holy man—which is an evident sign of the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in him; and because his announcements accord exactly with their intuitive perceptions of truth, which clearly proves his inspiration. His life and his teaching meet a want in the hearts of the gentle and pious beings who come into the 'Bride' as into an ark of rest and safety. They are people of earnest minds and strong religious convictions, who have found no satisfaction in any other of the existing forms of belief. They have felt that, say what the orthodox may, their will is *not* 'free;' that their sins and failures are *not* their own, but, on the contrary, are hateful to them;

that punishment would be gross injustice; that death would be, in the case of any single son of man, a most lame and impotent conclusion of the astounding achievement of the Son of Man; that it is absurd, to suppose that a Father All-wisdom, All-might, and All-love, will not act by His children as earthly parents would (whose love can only be a faint reflex of His), had they the wisdom and the power. When, therefore, Brother Prince announces doctrines confirming these intuitive perceptions, the belief of such earnest simple souls is conquered as was Nathaniel's—each feels that the teacher must have seen into his mind under the fig-tree, and must therefore be a Son of God. There only, then, remains to accept by faith the further teaching 'Behold, I come quickly,' as interpreted by Brother Prince under the direct revelation that 'quickly' means within his own lifetime. He *must* know, for his holiness and his inspiration prove his Divine mission.

In the attitude of mind, then, of those who constitute 'the Bride' in England, Ireland, Norway and America, there is no peculiar psychological problem. That problem lies in the man himself who has achieved the personal holiness, who has attained the perfect Peace, and who has excogitated the solutions of the tremendous riddle of our existence, which holiness, Peace, and inspired solutions are his credentials to the minds of 'the Bride.'

We put aside at once the idea that Brother Prince is a conscious deceiver. Moseylimah "the liar," is a very rare case among religious teachers. Moreover Moseylimah, like the leaders of extinguished heresies in the early Christian Church, was only "the liar" because he failed and succumbed. Had Luther failed, how would his name now be stigmatised. Had Moseylimah succeeded, it would have been Mahomed whose name would have come down to posterity as El-Kazzab. Was even Mahomed himself a conscious deceiver? No one can study the Mecca period of his mission, and the *Suras* of that period, without feeling that Mahomed *had* a mission; that he was profoundly impressed with the truths which he declared; that he was justified in declaring himself a messenger sent to turn his people, from the gross abysses of idolatry and sensuality in which they were sunk, to the knowledge of the one true God. "There is no god but God, and Mahomed is his prophet," was, in the mouth of the camel driver of Mecca, an actual divine message—just as much as in the mouth of the Egyptianised Hebrew who in the deserts of Midian received a similar message. No doubt Mahomed did subsequently, when he found that his mission was not acknowledged, descend to imposture in support of it. He perverted his

message. He adapted a doctrine which the Arabs would not accept, into one which agreed with their traditions, their prejudices, and their inclinations. He fabricated *Suras* to meet the requirements of the hour: no longer embodiments of intuitive perceptions of divine truth, they became mere declarations of Mahomed's political ideas, or justifications of his emotions of anger, revenge, or lust, imposed upon his followers as announcements received from God. But, even so, it is often difficult to distinguish between conscious deception and self-deception in Mahomed's case. There can be little doubt that, up to the very last, he sincerely believed himself to be God's chosen prophet and instrument. He died in the firmest confidence, and his last words were "to the most excellent companions in Paradise." Under such a conviction of his mission it is more than possible that Mahomed often really mistook the promptings of his own wishes to be indications of the Divine Will borne in upon his mind. "Thus saith the Lord" was not always, probably was not often, conscious deception* in the mouths of the prophets and teachers of the Old Testament, and the same may fairly be supposed in the case of Mahommedan. He was probably no more consciously deceiving when he announced God's command for the massacre of the Jews of Medina, than was Samuel in directing the massacre of Amalek.

Now Brother Prince's teaching is holy, and the fruits of that teaching in 'The Bride' are most evident and beautiful holiness. "By their fruits ye shall know them," said the Master, and upon this evidence Brother Prince's claim to a divine message is justified. This, however, applies to other prophets, who nevertheless descended, like Moses,* to imposture in support of their mission: has Brother Prince descended to such imposture? He pretends no miracles; he announces no visions; he declares no messages communicated to him by the Most High. He asserts simply a spiritual state, leaving his followers to judge of that state from his life and his conduct. He argues, from that spiritual state, a divine condition, *viz.*, that he is "the likeness and the glory of Christ," an incarnation of the Holy Spirit; and many sincere Christians from observation of the truth of the premiss, accept the inference. With the authority of such a condition he announces the immediate fulfilment of an accepted prophecy "Behold, I come quickly:" and he interprets the many starry hints studded over Scripture, regarding the condition and the future of man in a sense which no reasonable student can deny that they may bear; in a sense which many devout persons believe that they do bear; in a sense which turns

* [This is strange doctrine!—ED., *C.R.*]

Christianity from a creed of injustice and despair into a religion of hope.

Granted that, as regards himself, Brother Prince has fallen into a foolish delusion,—at any rate it *is* delusion, and a harmless one. Granted that his ideas of the Second Advent are out of keeping with the Master's declaration that 'the kingdom of God cometh not with observation,' still he only shares the error of the early Christians who hourly expected the Lord's return. Granted that his conception of actual physical translation to an actual place is curiously material and illogical, still such appears also to have been the conception of Paul.* At any rate, with all these traces of human infirmity, this remarkable man has done great things. He has achieved holiness. He has attained 'the Peace of God which passeth understanding.' He has grasped and announced, though perhaps vaguely, approximations to the infinite truth which are of tremendous import. Brother Prince has, in a measure, "recognised *sin as disease and imperfection; suffering as its cure; faith as a force; intuition as a faculty; the 'new birth' as a process of evolution; the conservation and transformation of energy as applicable to human failures equally with all other failures in nature;* and *the power of Love as a law—as indeed the Supreme Law.*" This quotation is not from any writings of Brother Prince, who has not thus formulated his perceptions, not even, perhaps, in his own mind. The quotation is from an Indian work,† of a tenor of free-thought foreign to the mind of Brother Prince. It nevertheless correctly states ideas which are present in the teaching of Brother Prince, as they are in the writings of the poet Shelley; ideas which have long been floating in the air, and which are in process of becoming concrete conceptions.‡

The genesis of these ideas does not very clearly appear in Brother Prince's published journal of the period July 1835 to October 1839, nor in the preface dated 1859. That journal shows only, as stated in the preface, "the history of a redeemed spirit in its progress from the creature up to God." As before said, most of the journal shows only the ordinary experiences of 'awakening.' The extraordinary results to which these led only begin to appear in the record of the last year of the journal. On October 22nd, 1838, Brother Prince writes "On Sunday, after having been much grieved in spirit by the miserable mockery of God in what is called the *morning service*, I had such a view of the *intense love* of Christ for my soul as pierced me through." Three days later he says, "My path,

* [No.—ED. *C.R.*]

† Rudiments of the World. Seh & Co., Delhi, 1893.

‡ [We doubt this.—ED. *C.R.*]

I feel assured, will be a very peculiar one. I find myself called to separate the precious from the vile. * * I believe that God has given me peculiar light for that very purpose. * * I foresee much severe trial. * * I sometimes feel much discouraged at the prospect of being a 'man of strife,' and a man of contention to the whole earth." These might of course be the words of a Wesley, or of any nascent reformer penetrated with the sense of a mission to denounce the coldness and formality of an established and benumbed Church; but further on we begin to perceive the peculiar condition of spirit induced in this particular case by this sense of a mission. "As a preparatory step the Lord has brought me to a state of the most helplesss infantine dependence. I feel weak, ignorant, and helpless to a degree beyond expression." On October 29th, however, he complains "what I find my spirit chiefly prone to turn to is abominable *self*. * * I find it exceedingly difficult to *abide in Him* steadfastly." Nevertheless, three days later, the journal terminates an extraordinary pœan of peace and content with the words "How much does all this sound like the language of a warm imagination: few, perhaps, could believe that there is not much embellishment; but O Thou holy God, Thou dost know me, and Thou knowest that I speak the truth in all simplicity!"

At this time Brother Prince was a student of Divinity at Lampeter College, having abandoned the profession of medicine for that of the Church. He appears to have been a most ripe scholar, notwithstanding a state of weak health, and a chronic local disease, references to which abound in the journal, and are significant of the progress of the peculiar condition of spirit referred to above. For instance, "Have been very unwell for a week with a severe cold, bilious attack, and toothache; from the latter I have been in almost constant pain for many days. Prayer and thanksgiving appear to me to be two of the best remedies for the toothache: they, however, must be used *freely*, and not by *constraint*." Again, "In the last month my health has been gradually declining, and I have had some return of local affection, together with symptoms indicating its increase. God has distinctly forbidden me to use any means of relief, though common prudence, and my knowledge of medicine have frequently demanded them; but I have not omitted them either from presumption or from ignorance of the consequences. I have several times committed the matter to God for his direction, and He has as frequently forbidden me to use any means whatever." And again, "Unwell with sore throat and some fever: I delighted myself in the *abundance of peace*;" and again, a month later, "Have felt very unwell these few days; so exceedingly weak that

I scarcely know how to live; but indeed I live by faith, otherwise I often feel as if I could not survive the week."

Truly the above shows a very remarkable spiritual condition. Though one feels inclined to smile at such remarks as "By the Grace of God I have conquered an east wind;" Mr. Prince having, by faith, induced that wind, which incommoded him, to shift to another quarter; yet one can understand, from this and the former entries quoted, how completely the man was penetrated with the feeling that he was "a pilgrim and stranger upon earth, without any home save God. He is my habitation and unto Him do I continually resort." Thus the conviction of his being 'set apart' continually grows upon him. On Christmas Day (1838) he notes: "Remained to the sacrament at Widcombe; felt more like a stone than a living being: wondered whether *such* a thing *could* be used for any purpose. * * I should shrink from the work, and retire altogether from the world, if I were not fully impressed with the conviction that a '*dispensation*' has been committed to me." On January 1st, 1839, he writes: "Most Holy God, were I still my own—which, blessed be Thy name, I am not—I would sanctify this opening year with a solemn dedication of myself to Thy service. Jesus I *am* Thine, and Thou art mine, and Thou wilt do with me as seemeth good to Thee." Again, on January 9th, "Oh, that I were holy, even as he is holy! * * I really believe that, though I too often find my sinful heart desiring holiness to glory therein, yet, habitually, I desire it in order to enter more fully into God." Later, however, the consideration of this feeling humbles and hurts him, for he perceives that it is *happiness* he seeks after, in the knowledge and possession of God—whereas it grieves him to feel that he can "be made happy by anything else than doing his most holy will." Is not this the feeling of Paul, who "could wish that myself were accursed from Christ" if thereby God's scheme of restoration were forwarded?

In the same sense is an entry of January 29th, "During this indisposition the Lord made deep discoveries to me of my utter misery and corruption. * * I perceived that all his creatures were so entirely and exclusively at his own disposal as really to be no better than *clay* in the hands of the potter * and that in all the uses to which He applied this clay He was regulated only by a regard to the fulfilment of His own will" (namely the perfection of His creation). In short Mr. Prince was learning at last to be ready to be cast away, if need be, for the reconciling of the world, and contentedly to leave it to a Father, All Love and All Wisdom, how best to use him. "I cannot but regard it as a token of God's goodness towards me, that when it pleases Him to fathom some of the depths of my depravity, and open to my view the inner chambers of my

natural pollution, I am not dejected or made unhappy thereby as I once was; but can bear the sight of own extreme wretchedness and profound misery *quietly*, without being disturbed or embittered in spirit." Again, on February 12th, "Oh *faith*, *real* faith, is indeed a wonderful thing! it is the most humiliating of all possible principles, and tramples in the dust all pretensions on the part of the creature to *any kind* of goodness, wisdom, or power. O my God, what a coming down for nature! what a deep humiliation and abasement! It replaces man in the position of a *creature wholly* dependent on the absolute will, and entirely at the sovereign disposal, of his creator." And again, on March 9th and 17th, "The Lord has been pleased to lead me into an extraordinary depth in the discovery of my own *nothingness*. * What I desire to express is this. that my dependence, every instant, for existence upon *God* and *His will*, seemed so very *true*, that my *actual being* appeared to be rather in the *divine will* than in its own existence. But this must seem like nonsensical refinement to one who has not experienced it. * * * I sometimes think that if others could see me in the light that God does, or even as I see myself, I should, like the Eastern King, be driven from men. * * These views of my own malignity, however, do not now make me unhappy, as formerly they did; for I do not now hope, as I once did, that *my nature* will *improve*. * Nay, I do not desire to become better, but rather rejoice that I am so bad, for I perceive that God is glorified therein."

This is, surely, the spirit of Christ's immediate followers, caught by personal contact from Himself. "Therefore, writes James, 'count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations, knowing that the trial of your faith worketh patience.' Therefore, repeats Peter, 'greatly rejoice though now in heaviness through manifold temptations, that the trial of your faith might be found unto praise and honour at the appearing of Jesus Christ.'* We hold on, then, temptation notwithstanding, sin notwithstanding, knowing that even He was 'made sin for us.' We are 'troubled on every side, yet not distressed, perplexed, but not in despair;' for 'God is faithful who will not suffer you to be tried above that ye are able.' Knowing that 'His strength is made perfect in our weakness,' we even try, like Paul, to 'glory in our infirmities'—while yet crying 'lead us not into temptation but deliver us from the evil.' This is the faith which is sign of the 'new birth'—faith God-given, God-maintained. Shaken it may be when imperfection, trial, sin, reach the crisis of their cure in dissolution. Then, in the very throes of deliverance, may come to us, as to the Man Jesus,† the last

* [You misunderstand these passages.—ED., *C.R.*]
† [This comparison is misconceived.—ED., *C.R.*]

worst pang of all, 'why hast thou forsaken me.' He knows best, and loves best, who may lay even this upon us; but the prospect appals. 'O God Most Mighty, suffer us not for any pains of death to fall from Thee.'" *

On April 6th (1839) Mr. Prince writes: "Notwithstanding the blessedness my soul enjoyed in the presence of her Maker, I distinctly perceived that it is far better to do the will of God than to enjoy God. * * By the will of God I mean not His will *generally*, but in *particulars*; that, ceasing from the gratification of my own will in *every* thing, however minute or unimportant in itself, I may wait on Him in spirit, *moment by moment*, to know His will with respect to me, *for that moment*. No person can conceive, who has not experience of it, what a constant self-denial and crucifixion of the will this requires." Again, on April 28th, "I perceive that God calls me, as regards the subjection of my will, to a state of *pure inward passiveness*. * * In the state of pure inward passiveness the *will* is *inactive* and *waiting* for the *will of God*. It has *no secret inclination*, so as to have any tendency to *one* thing more than *another*. * An *absolute and unreserved obedience* is that which constitutes the chief, peculiar, and distinguishing characteristic feature in the history and example of Jesus Christ; and it is this to which I perceive the Spirit of God is leading me, conscious as I am that I have not yet attained it." In short Mr. Prince had now attained the stage of being ready to be used either as "vessel of wrath fitted to destruction" or as "vessel of mercy;" either in base or in glorious use for the glory of God in the perfection of mankind.

> " * * Nor know I now
> If 'tis for good or ill; be that Thy care.
> Not for the clay to ask the Potter how
> 'Tis wrought; sufficient this, *that it is used*."

In his entries of May 8th and 14th (1839) Mr. Prince further describes this condition, and as it is a very interesting and curious exposition of a spiritual state, we will quote at some length. "During the last week the Lord has aimed a deadly blow at the life of self in me. * * The flesh wrought inwardly to such a degree that it appeared to have escaped from any controlling influence of the spirit. Now this condition being so very repugnant to *my will*, it was quite agreeable to the nature of things that I should wish *to get rid of it*; but to subdue *my will* was the very *purpose* of God in permitting the trial, and it was His wise intention to keep me in the trial, till *my* will should sink into *resignation to His*; and this

* Rudiments of the World, p. 284.

would be known by my becoming *cheerfully* willling to *remain in this condition*, all fearful as it appeared. * * * * Agreeably, therefore, to the divine purpose of teaching me passiveness, immediately that my soul was about to perform any *inward act*, the spirit *checked me and drew me from it.* * * This state of things continued day after day, during which the spirit was perpetually putting a check upon *my will* as often as it acted. Now as long as it did thus act" (in desire for holiness, be it remembered) "it is evident that it was not *resigned* to the state of the soul *then being*. In His wisdom, therefore, God kept up the trial * till the inward actings of my will * at length *ceased altogether* * instead of *wishing to escape* from this very unpleasant condition of soul * I was cheerfully willing to remain in it as long as it pleased God to keep me there * as in *justification* we cease from our own works and *rely by faith** on God to justify us freely, so in *sanctification* we may be brought to a *complete and entire a cessation* from our own works and rely by faith on God to sanctify us freely. Thus, in the experience just related when I refrained from inward acts, it was not done in unbelief, or carelessness, or indifference; but it was done in faith and dependence upon God."*

A week later he writes "My spirit sleeps in the most serene peace upon the bosom of God. My chief object is not now, what it once was, *viz.*, to *enjoy God*: the desire which is nearest to my heart now is *to do and suffer His holy will.*" Yet nevertheless nature *will* assert itself, and the exaltation of such resignation is too high to be maintained; for a little further we find "I want—how shall I utter it O God forgive—I want to come as near Thee, and live as much in Thee, and be as much like Thee, as it is possible for a created being to be without annihilation." Such outburst of repining against estrangement is inevitable by any Christian. If we *must* be used as vessels of wrath for our brethren, well, God's will be done; we are content to be even accursed from Christ for them: But the Christ-man in us *must* revolt, as He did, "with strong crying and tears,"—the spirit *must* cry "with groanings which cannot be uttered." Nevertheless the process went on in Mr. Prince. On August 15th he writes "I protest that I *die* daily. My inward life is undergoing a gradual destruction. I perceive that the life lies substantially in the will; * * it is the Spirit of God alone that can discover, and the love of God alone that can destroy the will, the iron-hearted will of man." Here Mr. Prince appears for the first time to shadow forth that idea with which the Bride is now possessed, that

* [This is pure Antinomianism.—ED., *C.R.*]

this 'will of man' is some independent principle of evil 'that wicked one,' hostile to and thwarting the will of God:—in fact, that there are two independent, though not equal powers in the universe, whence must arise chaos, not harmony.

In one form or another this presentment appears in the conceptions of all ages, for, as Professor Jevons writes, "The hypothesis that there is a Creator at once all-powerful and all-benevolent is surrounded with difficulties verging closely upon logical contradiction * * if we cannot succeed in avoiding contradiction in our notions of elementary geometry, can we expect that the ultimate purposes of existence shall present themselves to us with perfect clearness?" The reason of this evidently was, that man judged God by himself, having, until Christ came, nothing else to measure God by. It is only now clear to us since we have discovered, in Jesus Christ, that God is all-love—that the idea of a personal Satan, is contrary to the idea of a God Almighty and All-wise.* "Either the Devil is the author, or he is the victim of evil. Either Satan's functions are of God's appointment, or without it. If without God's appointment, then there is an independent power of evil in the universe and God is *not* all in all. If, however, he exists by God's appointment, then either he is an imperfect creature of God, like ourselves, and is such for the exhibition of God's glory, which cannot reasonably be supposed to be manifested otherwise than in perfecting him; or he is a creature specially appointed to hinder God's own work of perfecting imperfection, for the express purpose of thwarting Himself—which is surely absurd."† Similarly absurd is the conception of a 'free' will to oppose God. "If once we admit that 'all things in life are arranged by God,' that is to say, are the resultant of forces foreknown ('which,' writes Bishop Martensen, 'in a Supreme Being is equivalent to fore-ordained') to operate with that resultant * * then to regard 'free-will' as one of those forces is a contradition in terms; for; if it is a force fore-ordained by God to act in the 'arrangement of things' then it is not 'free-will' but 'God-will.' To talk of the power of 'free-will, meaning thereby something not God-inspired, God-directed, is contrary to reason, for to introduce into the order prescribed by God from the beginning an uncalculated force, independent of Him, must produce chaos."‡

Although the idea of a Satan thwarting the purposes of God, or of any 'freedom' of the will of a created being to interfere with those purposes, is inconsistent with the conception

* [An extraordinary discovery! and the following quotations *very* extraordinary logic!!!—ED., *C R.*]

† Rudiments of the World, p. 134.

‡ Rudiments of the World, p. 211.

of a God Almighty and All-wise, yet it was perfectly possible to suppose a minister of God for evil until it was realised in Jesus Christ, that God is also all-love. Such a minister is what Mahomed supposed; his devil is merely the servant of the cruel capricious tyrant whom Mahomed calls 'God.' "Barbarous and cruel ages," writes Morrison, "have ever generated barbarous and cruel religions." Till the coming of Christ the God conceived by man was necessarily anthropomorphous; he was cruel, capricious, tyrannical, like man himself. Now, however, the idea of God is based upon the perfect *anthropos* as seen in Christ. Granting a personal God the author of creation "then by analogy we suppose that His work must represent His mind. We see in man, the highest known development of His work, a great development of the faculty of love, and the higher the nature of the man the greater is this development. In the very best individual of the race, as the man Jesus is by all admitted to be, we see the very highest development of this faculty, and from this we may argue that, in the author, the faculty must exist in perfection. He *must* love His creation perfectly and injustice, harshness, unkindness on His part are inconceivable. What man is ruthless to his own workmanship? What father but pitieth his own children? The inference of David, in the 103rd Psalm, is that of Jesus of Nazareth in the sermon on the mount, of Paul in his letter to the Jews of Rome. If we, consciously imperfect as we are, love our children, *how much more* does the Perfect Father! Therefore evil cannot be what it appears to be. It must be a process of good, and can thus be accepted with entire trust in God to do for us exactly what we ourselves would have Him to do—if only we knew!"*

This is the point which Brother Prince appears to have failed to grasp, or at any rate to have omitted to bring out in his teaching. Man's "free" will, he explains, can only be Christ-will, but 'that enemy' will not leave it free to turn to God; that enemy from whom is all the imperfection, failure, suffering, sin, of God's creatures. The further explanation that this enemy—whether devil of cholera or of phthisis, of madness or anger or lust—is also God's creature working by appointment in furtherance of an unsearchable purpose which can only be 'good' both for 'enemy' and victim, because God is Love; of that explanation we find no trace in the doctrinal writings or the journal of Brother Prince. Possibly, like Bengel, he holds that one who proclaims God's love to be all-embracing is "a tell-tale and divulger of God's secrets,—tells tales out of school!" †

The entry of October 28th, 1839, closes this remarkable diary

* Rudiments of the World, pp. 216 and 290.
† Bishop Martensen's Christian Dogmatics, §. 287.

because, as Mr. Prince says, his personal life having ended, his journal must end too. He writes on that date: "It would not be possible, if, indeed, it were lawful, to describe minutely the marvellous work which God has been carrying on in my soul the last seven weeks. Where is the man who would be able to understand me, were I to assure him that *I have passed right through the middle of self*, and now, at length, *come out at the other side into God* * * and if I were to add that, with respect to the present position of my soul, it is *precisely the antipodes of what it was at the time of my first awakening.* Yet so it is." And he concludes with the words, "This, then is my testimony of God—that, though my prayers have been of such a kind as perhaps few have offered" (he refers of course to the boldness of his demands) "and though, when offering them, my expectations were almost unbounded, yet, that God in answering them has done for me *exceeding abundantly more than either I could ask or think.* * * Yes, I say it in all sobriety and seriousness, 'I am filled with all the fulness of God'". A marvellous hallucination, indeed, one which has produced a holiness which to any eye is beautiful, and which many clever shrewd men among Brother Prince's followers pronounce, from personal observation, to be without flaw. Indeed this holiness is the main ground of his acceptance by them as an incarnation of the Holy Ghost.

Fifty-five years later,* Brother Prince declares his pretensions even more explicitly, and explains the expression 'her' in the prayer which we quoted from the preface, written in 1859, to his journal which had been closed twenty years previously. After explaining that the 'world's malady' is the presence, in the vital principle ("the generative reproductive life-current") of the human race, of a specific poison-germ styled by him 'the evil one.' Brother Prince states that this terrible reality has been brought to light by God-Himself—by God the Holy Ghost. "I say, then, that the Holy Ghost, in me took flesh—a woman—and made himself one with it as a man is one flesh with his wife." "This is the 'her,' the body of Brother Prince, prepared by Christ as "a body for the Holy Ghost to carry out His purpose. * Without being unclothed of his earthly body he" (Brother Prince) "was clothed upon by his spiritual body. * * To bring man out of self into Christ by faith, and thus to save him, was the object for which the Gospel was given. The Holy Spirit, working by the Gospel, did this more or less in every true believer; but in Brother Prince He did it *fully*. * He did by His Spirit quicken his mortal body and raise him from the dead a spiritual body. In him, then, thus made meet for the purpose, the Holy Ghost took flesh, a woman, and made himself one with it."

* The World's Malady (1894).

Now this sounds like nonsense, and yet, examined closely it is but what was conveyed both by The Master and His apostles.* So far as The Master explained to Nicodemus the meaning of 'the new' birth' it certainly is that, as in the case of Mary, so for every man, as in his turn the evolution takes place in him, "the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." No one attentively reading the letters of Paul and John can doubt that they were filled with the same view.* Professor Drummond in his '*Natural Law in the Spiritual World*' quotes from Beale that there is "a period in the development of every tissue and every living thing known to us, when there are actually *no structural* peculiarities whatever—when the whole organism consists of transparent, structureless, semi-fluid living bioplasm—when it would not be possible to distinguish the growing moving matter which was to evolve the oak, from that which was the germ of a vertebrate animal." Huxley describes how he observed this bioplasm being fashioned into a water-newt. Similarly, says Professor Drummond, when a bird is wanted, "the bird-life seizes upon the bird-germ and builds it up into a bird, the image of itself. The reptile-life seizes upon another germinal speck, assimilates surrounding matter, and fashions it into a reptile. The reptile-life thus simply makes an incarnation of itself. The visible bird is simply an incarnation of the invisible bird-life. Now we are nearing the point where the spiritual analogy appears. There is another kind of life of which science as yet has taken little cognizance. It obeys the same laws. It builds up an organism in its own forms. It is the Christ-life. As the bird-life builds up a bird the image of itself, so the Christ-life builds up a Christ, the image of Himself, in the inward nature of man. When a man becomes a Christian the natural process is this. The living Christ enters his soul. Development begins. The quickening life seizes upon the soul, assimilates surrounding elements, and begins to fashion it, and all through life this wonderful, mystical, glorious, yet perfectly definite process goes on 'until Christ be formed' in it." Professor Drummond continues by answering the objection that the bird-germ becomes a perfect bird, whereas the Christ-germ does not become a perfect Christ, He demands for the latter the years proportionate to his place in the scale of life—"what wonder if development be tardy in the creature of eternity."

This, stripped of his extravagance of language, is the truth which Brother Prince is struggling to enounce. When this new germ has been conceived, seized, and its fashion commenced by the Christ-life, by the Spirit of God, then

* [Very extraordinary!—ED., *C.R.*]

the human matrix has fulfilled its purpose as the decaying acorn has, as the chrysalis has, as the animal mother has. There is as truly a new and imperishable divine being within the outward envelope as there is a snake within the slough ready to be shed. "I live," wrote Paul, "yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." The apostle, says Brother Prince, "did not intend it to be understood that he was Christ. So neither do I express, nor intend to be understood, that I am the Holy Ghost, when I say that I lived, yet not I but the Holy Ghost lived in me, when I took flesh and made myself one with it."*

So far then, Brother Prince, mainly goes upon what is, in the view of Christians, assured ground. [? ED.] He proceeds to say that this 'new-birth' taking place in him, this indwelling of the Holy Spirit, "brought out into manifestation the character of that other" (the devil) "not the sin only but also the death there, in the form of sickness, pain, and severe illness apparently unto death * * the Root of the World's Malady *Satan concealed in the flesh.*" As chemists have succeeded in isolating the deadly alkaloid which is the principle of many vegetable poisons, as they have discovered the germs, the bacteria, which propagate many diseases, "so also has the Great Divine Chemist discovered and separated from the poisonous life-current, the generative and reproductive principle by which the world is peopled, the lethal essence to whose presence its poisonous quality is owing." The concrete presentment of this lethal essence by Brother Prince is Satan, 'the adversary.' It is convenient so to present the incomprehensible principle of evil, the manifest results, in Protean forms, of the manifest imperfection of the universe, an imperfection necessarily containing in itself the seeds of decay and dissolution—the solvents, so to speak, which by God's ordinance, whether alkaloids or bacteria, whether deseases, sins or whatever lesions of bodily and mental organs, do continually disintegrate existing imperfect forms in that universe for further and better syntheses continually progressing towards perfection. Brother Prince calls these, collectively, 'the devil:' he has the idea, why should we quarrel with his manner of expressing it.

"But this was not the conclusion of the matter; for, the Holy Ghost having accomplished the purpose appointed for Him, *viz.*, the bringing to light of the devil as the poison of the life-current of the human race, and the source of all the sin and evil in the world—the Lord Jesus Christ, who was in His Spirit, revealed Himself from heaven as the Son of Man in His body, Brother Prince, and consumed with the Spirit of His mouth that Man of Sin, the wicked one." In short Brother

* [What an utter confusion of ideas in the unfortunate man!—ED., *C.R.*]

Prince has destroyed the devil. This is that head of Charles I which is always cropping up in the writings of this remarkable man to mar what would otherwise be most valuable and admirable. What has been done for and in himself, wonderful as it certainly is, so fills the field of his view as to destroy all sense of proportion, like the spider in the telescope. The Gospel Dispensation is now past and that of Brother Prince has arrived. "As it was at the close of the Dispensation of the Law, so it has happened also at the close of the Gospel Dispensation God has sent forth a Special Messenger to make ready a people for the coming of the Son of Man in judgment. But though this Messenger and his work were prophetically announced in Scripture" (as explained by Brother Prince in his work '*The Counsel of God in Judgment*') "the Christian Church have been so blinded by their prejudices * that they cannot discern in Brother Prince and his work the fulfilment of those prophecies." In consequence of this rejection of Brother Prince "God has withdrawn His Holy Spirit from the Gospel Church, that Spirit by which the Prophets were inspired, and without which their prophecies cannot be duly interpreted."

What a wonderful and delicately balanced thing is that concentration and development within the skull of the ganglia which in lower animals are distributed over the body. What a penalty is paid by us for this concentration and development. The sedentary animal thinks and feels all over his body. Cut off the head and body of a creature even so highly developed as the Mantis and he has mind enough left, in his first thoracic segment, to use his arms in defence or to seize his prey. There is little fear that the mental balance may be upset in either mollusc or mantis. But the astounding concentration and complexity of the organ of the mind in man exposes it constantly to the danger that some slight disarrangement of a part may affect the whole. Similarly, predominant use and development of a part affects the general balance. Right-handedness, for instance, has produced left-speech. Undue use of the right hand throughout successive generations, has so developed the left hemisphere of the brain (from which the nerves of the right originate) as actually to give greater specific gravity to the cortical grey matter in that region than in the right hemisphere. The latter no longer incites speech movements (except in left-handed people), and the left hemisphere exclusively acts for that purpose. How much disturbance of mental balance is the poring upon the wild [! ED.] utterances of Hebrew prophets answerable for! Brother Prince denotes some pages of polished satire to the prophecy-interpretations of Cumming and Baxter—who discovered poor Louis Napoleon to be Anti-

Christ, without perceiving that *de se fabula narratur*. Unconscious prophecies there of course are in the Hebrew poets, as in Plato or in Virgil. We can see their fulfilment in past events But hopelessly to seek for the forecast of future dealings of God, in those raphsodies, seems to have the effect of so developing the activity of particular cells in the cerebral cortex as to impair the efficiency of other cells, just as mental worry will produce Aphasia.

Only thus can we account for the sudden aberrations of the eminently sound and acute intellect displayed in Brother Prince's most able and profitable works. So impressed has he been with the wonderful working of God's Spirit in himself, that he has dwelt upon himself in connection with prophecy till his mental view has become distorted. Christ's testimony, 'Behold He cometh,' has now become, in Brother Prince, 'Surely I come quickly.' "Yes, it is done. The work of the Holy Ghost in taking flesh has proved itself to be the wisdom and power of God to make ready a people for the coming of the Son of Man in judgment. * * By this reception of my testimony concerning that work, they have been delivered from that wicked one who was before concealed in their flesh to its defilement. * * That living word, BEHOLD HE COMETH was the holy seed of the new Dispensation. Out of it sprung the Agapēmone, the House" (in Somersetshire) 'where Christ has put His new Name as the Son of Man."

After building up step by step the demonstration that Conscious States or Feelings are an appanage only of nerve actions, "no more capable of being dissevered from the physical conditions on which they depend than is Heat to be dissevered from its physical conditions." Bastian necessarily proceeds to enquire *the motor* of those nerve actions out of which consciousness, feeling, thought, all mental operations, arise. "To say that Heat is a 'mode of motion' takes for granted the underlying fact that we cannot have motion except though a something which moves" (moves=causes motion). And then, in this inquiry, there arises in the cool cautious scientist who wrote '*The brain as an organ of the mind*,' the same prepossession which we find in the emotional assailant of Christianity, the author of '*The creed of Christendom*.' "In the free-will of man," writes Mr. Greg, "we do believe and must believe, however strict logic may struggle against it." Similarly Bastian, while saying that "to show how these particular motions in nerve tissue arise which underlie conscious states must ever remain impossible," will not admit that they have not a 'natural origin,' *i.e.*, that they are not effected by man himself:—for, if not, then "all notions of Free Will, Duty, and Moral obligation would be alike consigned to a common

grave." Gravity, wrote Newton to Bentley, "must be caused by an agent acting constantly according to certain laws." No scientist would conceive that the motions of the spheres, or of other particles in space, are self originated—why then those of the molecules in the human brain! All goes back to a Supreme Will, and that Will alone can it be* which originates 'these particular motions in nerve tissue which underlie conscious states' and which thus causes the nerve actions of thought which are the result of those motions.

From this Supreme Will must have come then [ED., *C.R.*] the mental aberration under which Brother Prince declares himself to be the Messenger of Christ, sent in His Power and Spirit to announce His immediate coming. And as every operation of that Will of a Being all-wisdom and all-love must be for good, must absolutely tend to the completion and perfection of His creation, we have to seek the explanation in such results as we see. Those results are that the confidence of Brother Prince in his own mission—inspiring similar confidence in numerous persons who accept him upon the credentials of his evident holiness, and of his inspiration to declare truths which they intuitively perceive to be true—has raised up in England, Ireland, Norway, and America, a body of Christians peculiarly filled with the graces of meekness, charity and the spirit of prayer and praise. Brother Prince's hallucination has been the means used to this end, and it is presumably the sole means which could have effected it in minds so constituted as to absolutely need a human guide speaking with what they believe to be divine authority. "There are diversities of operations," writes Paul, "but it is the same God which worketh all in all." Some minds can only find repose in committing themselves to the guidance of the Holy Ghost residing in the person who is Bishop of Rome for the time being. Others regard that Divine Spirit as incarnate in Brother Prince. Others again, such as Bible Christians and Plymouth Brethren, are content to feel that Spirit guiding themselves directly; experiencing personally the truth of John's statement that "ye have an unction from the Holy Spirit and ye need not that any man teach you." All these diversities are by the Supreme Will, in pursuance of the purpose of the *perfection of all*, though each absurd little group supposes the perfection to be for itself only. What does it all matter, cries Paul; so long as "Christ is preached I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."

We have referred, in the early part of this article, to the risk of perversion of Brother Prince's vicarious theory of sin.

* [To refer our Wills to the Supreme Creative Will, and to make them one with IT, are very different things.—ED. *C.R.*]

He himself admits that it seems dangerous. "In like manner formerly did the doctrine of justification by faith without works seem dangerous. * * Those who make objections of this kind do not perceive that the *love of Christ*, is the power of God to preserve the individual from sin, and to make it hopeful to him." Certainly it is true that, when Christ has been born in any man, then 'the spirit warreth against the flesh.' As John says (New Version) "whosoever is born of God sinneth not, but he that is begotten of God keepeth him." The doctrine so crudely held on the Bride is dangerous only until the 'new birth,' and that, after all, must come to each man sooner or later. Again, Brother Prince guards against misapprehension of his teaching that the 'new-born' cannot die. He has never said "that they cannot die in the ordinary sense of the word 'die.' What they have been taught is that, regarding death as the separation of soul and body, the unclothing of the soul by the removal of its body, they cannot die; because * they are already clothed upon with a spiritual body, and raised above death as Children of the Resurrection." This presentment of the 'new birth,' is what the common sense of Christians is already arriving at. [Really? ED., *C.R.*] "How be it," says Brother Prince, "what the Bride of Christ is *looking for* is not death of any kind but translation without death." This we before explained to be the expectation of each member of the Bride, because Christ must arrive, if not to-day, at least to-morrow.

We cannot do better, in concluding this article, than to extract from two pamphlets, published in 1888 regarding the exposure of that lurking personal devil who is the Bride's *bête noire*, Brother Prince's scattered notices of himself and his Agapēmone. "In the year 1845 there was publicly proclaimed in many places in England this important Testimony, *Behold He cometh*. There was then declared, in the power of the Holy Ghost, the near approach of Christ in judgment, and the Church and world were solemnly exhorted to prepare to meet Him. Out of the many to whom this Testimony was preached a few believed it. As may be supposed, their acknowledged reception of this Testimony, as a message from God separated them from the rest of the professing Church. * * * * The person from whom this religious movement originated was a Clergyman * * This Clergyman having been prohibited by the Bishop of Bath and Wells * also was prohibited by the Bishop of Salisbury * * also by the Bishop of Ely * Thinking he was hardly dealt with the Curate wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury * but the Archbishop replied that he could not interfere. Prevented thus from preaching *within* the pale of the Established Church

Brother Prince, after some months waiting upon God for guidance in faith and prayer, proceeded to preach *without* it. * * A piece of ground was purchased * and a chapel and small dwelling house built on it. This place, gradually enlarged as more persons came to reside there, * was subsequently called the Agapēmonē (abode of love). It was there, where several of those who had received that Testimony resided, and whither the rest at various times resorted, * that Christ accomplished the great work I speak of—the taking hold of that spiritual Leviathan the Devil, so as to draw him out of that deep in which he had so long concealed himself, to his destruction. * * Those brought to reside in the Agapēmone had been led by the testimony of Jesus, *Behold He cometh*, to look for the speedy coming of the Lord in judgment. Ere long He did so come, though in a way very different from that they had expected, and was revealed among them as the Son of Man in judgment. * * He brought to light in them the secret of the *fallen nature* of the flesh, namely, THE PRESENCE IN IT OF THAT SPIRITUAL LEVIATHAN, THE DEVIL. * * * In such a terrible position there would doubtless have been utter destruction, but for one thing which alone did keep them from making shipwreck of their faith in God. It was this: they did hear *the voice of His Spirit*, as he spake by His messenger. * * This strange and terrible state of things—it is now many years ago—continued for some time, the heat of the day waxing and waning as it were until it culminated in the bringing to light of that wicked one * and the destruction of that Levathan * to their complete and most blessed deliverance. * * * The whole of this period is replete with painful recollections; and, though a terrible reality, it seems, at this distance of time, like a hideous dream. The subject is not pleasant either to speak or write of; but it was needful to mention these things as being involved in the account of the manner in which God visited His people in judgment. * * But what was the result, in these inhabitants of the earth, of this destruction of the Wicked one by the sword of the Lord.' * * By the destruction of that *consciousness of self* they have learnt, of any evil in them, that it is not *they* but the Evil one; so they do not condemn themselves for it, and do overcome it; and of any good in them they have learnt that it is not *they* but the *Holy one*, even Christ; so they cannot glory in it. * * * Accordingly I say that this place is worthy of its name, the Agapēmonè * and I add that it is not the abode of love in the sense in which it has been represented. It is not the abode of sensuality, casual-mindedness, lasciviousness, uncleanness, or impurity; but it is the place from which all these things have been utterly

banished. * * I repeat, the place is worthy of its name; and they who live there do live in purity of body and simplicity of life, and in unity, peace and love, not seeking their own. * * This is their home life; and it is manifestly so as they live abroad; for they live for little else than to go about doing good * * not as a duty but as their privilege and blessing * and all in any way connected with the Agapēmone, especially the poor send as a matter of course to them for assistance * Nor is this account to be strictly limited to those who live in the Agapēmonè, for others share in these ministrations * it is no exaggeration to say that, for Jusus' sake they make themselves the servants of all. * This assistance is not restricted to those that are connected with the Agapēmone but is freely rendered to all * and rendered often to many who have before been bitter in opposition."

All the above, regarding Brother Prince's followers, *is true*. The Bride, whether in the Agapēmonè or elsewhere, does most evidently show forth the beauty of holiness. "By their fruits" said the Master, "ye shall know them," and by that test is this the work of the Spirit of God. Truly "God has spoken at sundry times" and in very "divers manners;" and evidently it is no small thing that such a movement of sanctification and perfecting should have originated from a hallucination which, He caused* to arise in the mind of His servant, the Church of England, curate, Mr. Prince.

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* We should think it is the other way God can "cause" no hallucination (even though He may permit evil spirits to do so), but He may overrule it for "sanctification," but not the *unhealthy excrescence* of "Brother Prince and *his* Bride."

One word more;—we seem to have come again to the grand old times of *Methuselah* in the above article, which is by a well-known Military Officer!—*Ed.*, C. R.

THE QUARTER.

SOUTH AFRICA.—We regret that the three months past have brought no betterment in the unfortunate "war" which has been raging in South Africa for two years past. No betterment in any way. The unpractical theorists at home, united with the "man-in-the-street" element, still can only see what they call "a war to the finish"—just as if it was a prize-fight—and not a statesman's opportunity. At the same time, we record the same number of losses—in June it was double, or two officers and 22 men—every day at the seat of the struggle, and our military position is even worse. We have now actually 252,000 troops on the field, while the number of forces of the "enemy" are increasing every day by considerable additions from the Dutch in Cape Colony. The mere invasion of the Cape Colony which we last noted, is spreading into a conflagration, and we have been obliged to give up guarding the through communication by rail of the Cape line. For the rest we have been obliged to construct block-houses, lest our communications in the two States and with Natal be also cut off! At the same time, the same mendacious and toned-down stories are being officially circulated at home to keep the "man-in-the-street" in humour. Here are two independent, and by no means "pro-Boer," accounts, the one from a Colonial yeoman, and the other from the correspondent of the *Standard*, which cut directly against Messrs. Brodrick's and Chamberlain's glozing accounts:—

"The situation in Cape Colony in brief is this: From Colesberg to Orange River Station along the Orange River small parties of marauders constantly appear in Cape Colony. Westwards, towards Kenhardt, a small commando composed largely of local rebels, appears and disappears with annoying regularity. Further south, in the Grahamstown, Burghersdorp, and Colesberg Districts, small but very successful commandos under Kruitzinger, Scheepers, and Van Reenen (a Cape rebel) have so far defied the many columns sent after them, pillaging with scarcely any hindrance and but little loss to themselves. There is no doubt whatever that Kruitzinger's commando originally but 250 to 300 strong, has been considerably reinforced by local rebels, with the result that new commandos are constantly being heard of as working independently."

"The general position in the Colony is absolutely deplorable. Stories of robbery and outrage come from places so far apart as Barkly West and Klipdam, North of Kimberley, and Elandsvlei only two hundred miles north of Cape Town. From the Transkeian border in the east to the confines of the Kalahari in the north-west, the Colony is over-run by small bands of rebels, who are absolutely reckless of their lives, and equally indifferent to the ordinary

requirements of civilised warfare. From the Cradock District alone as many as six hundred British subjects have joined the invaders since April last, and from the Somerset East District another two hundred rebels have taken up arms. They are living on the fat of the land, and have few wants. The reports that they are a mere rag-tag and bobtail are quite untrue. Prisoners who have been with them for three or four days declare that they are better clothed and better fed than our own men. For ammunition they depend on the all-too-frequent captures they effect, and, despite our large seizures of horses, they are still well-mounted. The naive stories that they have been driven from strong positions are, as a rule, worthless. The whole country is terrorised."

But it is even worse than all this—the "war" is degenerating into absolute murder. This, the last phase of such an unhappy and wicked—and really "civil"—war, is what might have been expected from all the circumstances—the gradual wearing out and depletion of the Boers, the refusal of ordinary honourable terms, and the employment on our side of colored help. It is too much in human nature to expect that two years continual harassing warfare will result in lenient and reasonable views, or that wholesale hangings and confiscations will not be resented. And as it is now degenerating to pure and simple murder it is quite possible that the "enemy" instead of generously letting their numerous captives go free, as they have always hitherto done, will just shoot them. In such a case, there is little doubt which side will suffer most, for we cannot, even as reprisals, shoot down men in cold blood—men who are fighting for their independence even as the Scotch of old—and if we did, we should probably at once see the whole of the Cape Dutch—now barely restrained—rise and we lose South Africa (plus that everlasting make-bate Rhodes and his Kimberley mines) for ever. As it is, in regard to a rising of the Cape Dutch, a *Daily Mail* telegram says that the invaders are swarming in the Eastern and Midland Districts and number 7,000 to 10,000, and the Colony, from Dordrecht to Willowmore, across to Kenhardt on to Namaqualand, is virtually in the posession of the Boers. General French, who was going away on sick leave, has been persuaded to remain and take charge of the operations against them, but neither he, nor Lord Kitchener, can work miracles. Meantime Kruitzinger, a German, and Fouche, a Frenchman, who are leading the Boers, have placarded the northern districts of the Colony, stating that they were annexed to the Orange Free State at the beginning of the war, and warning the inhabitants against divulging the whereabouts of the commandos under pain of a fine or accompanying the commandos. Natal too, on the Zululand border, has been raided, while even close to Pretoria daring attempts are made, and several severe engagements

have come off, in one of which—Vlakfontein—our casualties were 14 officers and 177 men. A charge having been brought of our wounded being killed in cold blood by the Boers, was found to be, as usual, grossly exaggerated, and Mr. Bennet Burleigh, the war correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, had to write and say "the Boers on the whole have behaved very creditably, courageously, and *kindly*. They have rarely maltreated their prisoners, and hardly ever when their officers have been present. And they have been usually generous and tender towards our wounded." How can they be otherwise when they are a grave race brought up strictly in the Reformed (*Scotch*) faith, and (we speak from personal knowledge) many of them kith and kin with ourselves, born, too, at "Home," and speaking the same tongue. To confirm this General Lyttleton, who is returning to South Africa with Lord Milner, has publicly stated in England, that "the Boers were brave men, and he did not think the atrocities that had been reported were the acts of the regular Dutch burghers, but of some of the riff-raff who got into armies." General Lyttleton is supposed to be going to replace Lord Kitchener (who has been selected for the Chief Command in India, and will come out here after a brief rest at Home), and this (with other facts) points to a possible pursuance of a more liberal, generous, and truer policy, which may lead to a solid, honourable and lasting peace. In this connection, and with reference to Mr. Kruger's asserted impracticable attitude, we draw attention to the paper on South Africa in this number of the *Calcutta Review*, written by one who knows what he writes about. We ourselves have already drawn attention to the evil effects of this utterly foolish "war" on our position in China, and that means in Asia; and Lord Salisbury, with Messrs. Chamberlain and Balfour, are directly responsible for it as having brought about, and continued, the struggle in South Africa. Meantime, "Proclamations" are flying about on one side and the other, on our side threatening pains, penalties, and death for resistance after the 15th September, and on the Boer side—"no peace will be made and no peace conditions accepted by which our independence and national existence, or the interests of our Colonial brothers, shall be the price paid." The prospects, however, are that there will be peace soon. Else,——what? For the South African Lands Commission reports that unless strenuous efforts are made to establish a thoroughly British population large enough to prevent the recurrence of disorder—which can never be done—, the whole expenditure of blood and treasure in the war may—even as we have in previous numbers asserted—be wasted. And, "owing to the impossibility of the Cape

Parliament meeting in the present state of the country—that is, there is no constitutional government now at the Cape—the Governor has decided to meet expenditure by the issue of warrants?" So much for the "war" initiated by Messrs. Rhodes, Jameson and the *League* in union with the riff-raff Polish Jews and others figuring as "Uitlanders;" begun by Mr. Chamberlain in conjunction with the "man-in-the-street;" and supported by Lord Salisbury (in his infirm old age) and Mr. Balfour, to the utter detriment of England, her honor, and her Empire in the East. Let us have some sense of truth, proportion, and honor and magnanimity. We do not believe in either "Brummagen," nor "the man (hooligan) in the street." And we believe we have lived longer know more of men and nations, than either Mr. Chamberlain, or his convert Mr. Balfour who would rather fit into a chair of "Philosophy" in a small University than be where he is.

CHINA.—We stopped in our last with the beginning of the Third Act in this great drama. How it will exactly go on, it is difficult to predict, though the disastrous results may be easily foreseen. The Indemnity question has been hastily settled, though we are not yet quite sure of the proposed increase in the Opium tax not still blocking the way, or that the whole question may not go before the Hague Tribunal. The Protocol with China, too, still remains unsigned, and the latest news regarding it is that it omits the punishments of provincial officials, and does not provide for the destruction of forts—so that the Chinese are recovering ground though England (alone) protests. Foreign troops are all withdrawn, save the Legation Guards. The increase of duties in China—5 *per cent. ad valorem* on all articles except flour and rice—will seriously affect Indian trade and manufactures. Germany and France both maintain garrisons in Shanghai to the dismay of the local British population, and England quietly accepts the situation. Another fire in Pekin has destroyed the priceless Imperial Library, with all the archives and records. The Manchurian Agreement between Russia and China of course holds good, and there are rumours of Russian and Chinese troops fighting insurgents side by side. Prince Tuan has managed to get hold of his son, the heir to the throne, and has raised an immense following of Mongols with whom he proposes to drive the "foreigners" out of China. It seems that Tung-foo-tsiang also proposes to do the same with another army. Meanwhile, no one can say whether the Emperor is dead or alive, and the Empress Dowager refuses to return to Pekin, and has fixed on a new capital at Haiseng-foo, the capital of Honan Province on the Yang-tse, 300 miles

from Nankin. Bands of Boxers are again terrorising Northern China. The Chinese Government have still numerous arsenals and smokeless powder factories, and are proceeding at once to manufacture arms. We shall carefully watch the developments of the Third Act. At present things look very threatening for the "foreigners" in China—Boxerism again rampant, the Chinese rearming, Russia and China in agreement (and France behind them), England's supreme position lost, and the foreign troops mostly recalled for contingencies nearer home and on the score of expense. It is possible the Third Act will really begin concurrently with a still greater drama to be enacted in Europe, in which, say, the Austrian and Turkish Empires will topple to pieces, England lay hold of Jerusalem (!), Germany seat herself at Constantinople and Baghdad, and Russia absorb interiorly the delicate and choice morsel of Persia.

Of other countries there is not much to be said this quarter. Russia has received a Thibetan Mission, the object of which was merely to secure privileges for Buddhists in the Russian Empire. The Russian Geographical Society is sending out another scientific expedition to the Pamirs under the leadership of Dr. Fedshenko. A Russian Squadron, commanded by the grand Duke Alexander has been visiting Constantinople, and also the Bulgarian and Roumanian ports. The Russian Journal *Novosti* states that it is a great mistake for the German and Austrian Press to consider Russia and England as adversaries, and there is no question of India. A straw shows sometimes which way the wind blows, and this amicable tone towards one, and reproof as well as the reported statement of the visit of the Czar to France to others, may mean something. Even the *Times* in reviewing the situation in the Balkans, and the unusual anxiety displayed at Vienna, says that the spirit of resistance ominously manifested on the part of the races subject to the Turks is little calculated to inspire the hope that tranquility will long be maintained.

France has expelled her Religious Orders and Associations and the Pope has been deeply grieved over it. Many of the expelled have gone over to England. Paris expects to see Count Lamsdorff, the Russian Foreign Minister, in September, as well as the Czar later on to a grand Military Review. A Frenchman is stated to have solved the question of ærial navigation! Indo-China is to have railways constructed immediately; and a dangerous French sub-marine torpedo has been invented. Relations strained with Turkey as we write.

Germany has received back Count Waldersee safe and alive and the Emperor has covered him with unusual honors. But the Count, unlike the great Von Moltke, has been making

self-laudatory and aggressive speeches, and stated that while the names of other nations have sunk, Germany's has risen!!! We suppose nothing better can be expected from him. His Imperial Master, meanwhile, has been toasting the French Army (!) whom he called "glorious," again urged the necessity of having a strong fleet, and has held a grand Military Review at which the Queen of Holland was present. The Queen has been over to Berlin, it is supposed, to place her Colonies in the East Indian Archipelago under the protection of Germany. Germany is now determined to have a separate Colonial Army (!)—what this can mean we do not quite see, for two or three islands and a corner of New Guinea in the Pacific, and some inconsiderable parts of Africa, do not need a "Colonial Army." There is, perhaps, more in it than appears on the surface, especially when viewed with the garrisoning of Shanghai, occupying Farsan Island in the Red Sea, and probably "protecting" the Dutch possessions. Count Von Bülow, too, imitating Count Waldersee, has publicly declared "that Germany, lying in the middle of Europe, was bound to be always *en vedette*"—the reason for which, too, is not very convincing. Evidently the trio—the Emperor, his "only general" and his Minister—are all worthy of one another, and they are working on a plan which we shall know as soon as either the Austrian Emperor dies, or the Balkan troubles begin—unless Russia and France force his hand previously, which would probably be the most advisable course. There is, however, an enormous shortage of grain produce in Prussia, and a severe commercial crisis in Germany owing to over-production in factories and over-financing of new undertakings, including in the latter probably the increase of German trading steamers in the East from 26 to 45.

Austria has no history; Spain is still full of Anarchist troubles and anti-clerical riots; Italy is shaking herself more and more free of the triple Alliance, which now probably exists only in name; and Turkey, as usual, is falling into trouble, and "doing the grand," even though her pretentious Mission to China has, as we predicted, been simply scouted by the Chinese and been obliged to return without having even set foot in China! The Khedive has been to Stamboul, and been banquetted by the Sultan at the Yildiz Palace, an official communication to the native press saying that the object of the visit is to pay homage to the throne! (Lord Cromer has also proceeded to London.) And while the Plague has entered both Turkey and Egypt, foul play is suspected in the Sirdar's, General Wingate's, train being derailed between Cairo and Alexandria; and Turkey is angrily contesting England's right to interfere in the

interior of Aden! At the same time, she has just got into a quarrel with France about certain quays in Constantinople owned by a French company. The Aden expedition matter does not seem to be quite settled yet as we write, but of course it, as well any trouble in Egypt, will be firmly and promptly met with by England. What with these signs, and the Ameer's reported diplomacy of drawing all the Mahommedan States together, with Arab intrigues even in Java, and bringing all "the Faithful" together into common objects and a line to acknowledge the sovereignty of "the Khalif," as by the proposed Railway to Mecca, there may be something brewing, and we may do well to take heed betimes.* From all this mesh perhaps Persia remains free,—(and she has been just removing very vexatious restrictions on her commerce—all inland customs being abolished)—we may also add, even Moorish Envoys have been careering all over Europe, to be only thrown into prison on their return home for spending two millions sterling!—; but we cannot feel sure that the *Cenoussis* of Africa have not been at the bottom of it all. This may seem far-fetched, but Mahommedanism can never rest, and we may refer our readers to a most valuable article on them that will appear in the next number of the *Calcutta Review*, written by one of the most competent authorities on the subject —an article that will perhaps draw as much attention in France as at Home on this particular development of Mahommedanism. Japan has changed her Ministry, and the two, Corea and Japan, are still bickering and playing with one another. The Abyssinian Menelik has sent 15,000 troops after the "Mad" Mullah, and despatched a congratulatory letter to the King of England.

We now come to Home and our English-speaking countries and colonies.

ENGLAND has again had to mourn a loss of a prominent member of the Royal Family, the Dowager-Empress of Germany and our former Princess Royal. Notwithstanding her early wilfulness, she had attached herself to the affections of Englishmen; and from her long and sad life, as well as her prolonged sufferings from the malady which terminated in her death, had come to be much respected. She could not reach to her ideal of good work owing to the crass and cross German nature of her adopted countrymen, and she has early followed her mother to "her reward." All England mourned for her, and King Edward went to her death-bed. Thence he proceeded for three weeks to Hamburg. The Queen has been also spending some time at Copenhagen. His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, has been inaugurated Grand of English Freemasons in succession to the Prince of Wales

* Mr. Amir Ali is utterly mistaken in his *Spirit of Islam*.

who resigned on succeeding to the throne. The Crown Prince of Germany has paid a visit to England, it is supposed on a matrimonial project. The King has issued a Proclamation announcing that the Coronation of himself and his consort will take place in June next, and appointed a large Commission to consider the ancient Coronation customs. The Coronation will be limited to that portion of the ceremony usually performed in Westminster Abbey. The King also received the Moorish Mission, and conferred honors on the Ambassador and on the Sultan of Morocco. The Duke of Cornwall has been immensely enjoying his trip to Australia since we last wrote, and has visited all the capitals of the several Colonies, besides a number of places in New Zealand, receiving a great Maori welcome at Rotorua, where 5,000 natives assembled to shout and give war-dances. About the Leeuwin, as well as between New Zealand and Hobart, very bad weather was met with, and in the former case the party had to return to Albany. After leaving Australia the Duke has successively visited Mauritius, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Simonstown, and Capetown, everywhere meeting the most enthusiastic reception. He and the Duchess are now on their way to Canada.

The Parliament have been occupied with various important and unimportant matters, but little progress has been made in anything. The matter of the Coronation Oath has taken just the turn we indicated last quarter. The Bill was introduced after the Committee had reported in favour of the amendment by a declaration affirming disbelief in Transubstantiation and declaring the adoration of the Virgin contrary to the Protestant faith, and the House of Lords passed it. But Lord Salisbury, referring to the prospects of the Bill, said it was now evident that the Roman Catholics did not desire the withdrawal of the offensive words unless the Declaration securing the Protestant succession was simultaneously withdrawn. They were not entitled to complain whatever happened. It is understood that the Government will drop the Bill and not renew it next year. A Bill also to elaborate and add to the King's Title has been passed, but what the precise form is yet to be determined. We think this idea of going after Titles will be no improvement, and is a mark of the degeneracy of the age. Lord Roberts has been made the recipient of a grant of £100,000. The Reorganisation Scheme for the Army has made little headway; and while twelve millions have been sanctioned for Military and Naval expenditure, including the breakwater at Malta, it has come out, England would have to look for Naval Reserves elsewhere than in the Mercantile Marine, in which British seamen were

5,000 fewer than they were 30 years ago! The Education Bill, which satisfies only a section, has passed, and that (with the passing of the Home Estimates) seems to have been all that have been accomplished, along with a new closure rule enabling estimates to be voted in groups instead of separately! Expression was given in Parliament to the subject of the Colonies contributing a share to the upkeep of the Navy, but to any one who knows Australia, that day is very far off indeed. Even the bribe of representation in the House will not move them. The head of Australia is moved by the tail, even as the Kangaroo—apt emblem! And yet, there is no better race on the face of the earth than the "upper crust" of "Young Australia," but these are a handful in the millions of the "wurruking classes." The Parliament stands prorogued after the ordinary speech from the Throne in which there was nothing remarkable or striking to notice. It could not close, however, its useless existence—which even Lord Salisbury deplores, only he lays the blame on there being no Opposition, and not on himself—without betraying its littleness, this overwhelming and magnificent "Khaki" Parliament, by bickerings with the Press, including the *Globe* and the *Daily Mail*, the Editor of the former having been called to express regret before the bar of the House, and the latter being told that it had been guilty of a breach of privilege. These are signs of the end. The defences of Gibraltar, which are in a perilous state owing to Spain's new works opposite, were adverted to, but nothing very essential can possibly be done. Some Naval Manœuvres closed with an important battle off the Lizard, but the decision of the Umpires is awaited as we write. The following is a return of the fleets of the various powers as they stood on 15th January 1901 :-

BATTLESHIPS.

	Built.	Building.
England	50	16
France	28	5
Russia	15	10
Germany	19	10
Italy	15	6
United States	7	11
Japan	6	1

ARMOURED CRUISERS.

	Built and building.
England	29
France	22
Russia	12
Germany	7
Italy	6
Japan	7
United States	11

PROTECTED CRUISERS.

	Built and building.
England	107
France	40
Russia	14
Germany	22
Italy	16
Japan	16

TORPEDO CRAFT.

	Built and building
England	247
France	316
Russia	223
Germany	169
Italy	168
United States	49
Japan	92

SUBMARINES.

France	22
United States	8

We ought to notice that there has been considerable to do in the Liberal Camp, the Imperialists going further away from the Moderatists. The outcome of a number of dinners and speeches has been that things remain pretty much where they were before. Only Lord Rosebery has again come forward and declared that he will lead if he will be followed! We are afraid he has none of the elements of a leader. He is a mere trifler, who thinks too much of himself. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has declared the very truth that mere petty personal jealousies prevent the consolidation of the Opposition. There are too many merely brilliant men, and few Moderalists and those willing to submit to the yoke. Even Mr. Labouchere has got a decent following of ultra Rads! The end of the Boer War, with a peaceful settlement, will doubtless result in the resuscitation of a respectable Opposition. With reference to the weakness of the present "Khaki" Parliament, which was forced on the country, and which came in with such a flourish, even the *Times* writes that "It is idle to attempt to disguise the fact that there is a great deal of discontent in the ranks of the Unionist majority. It is not by any means confined to the Liberal Unionists, and perhaps its most decided and uncompromising exponents are identified, by life-long allegiance, with the old Conservative party;" and Mr. J. M. Maclean's withdrawal from the Carlton Club and estrangement from the Conservatives means much more than the mere solitary fact. He has only had the courage to do, what every true Conservative would do to-morrow to get free from the "Brummagem" Club of Mr. Chamberlain, and the unnatural union between Whigs and Tories. The Jingo Spirit has been considerably exorcised of late, and probably before long will turn to a new form of rabies in regard to home matters of taxation. The details of the recent Census have been published, and show that 77 *per cent.* of the population live in the towns. The population in England and Wales has increased by 12·7 per cent. as compared with 11·65 in the preceding decade. The decennial birth-rate, however, is only 31·57, as compared with 34·24 in 1881-91 and 37·89 in 1871-81. But for the war, immigration would for the first time have exceeded emigration.

We may fitly conclude this section of our remarks by quoting Mr. Andrew Carnegie's solid words of wisdom in a late *Nineteenth Century* as against Sir Michael's interested words that it was all right at a Bankers' Banquet. Mr. Carnegie writes:—

> "The true statesman will soon turn his attention to the bettering of conditions at home, for it is here that the greatest increase of British trade can most easily be effected. A profitable home market is the strongest weapon that can be used to conquer markets abroad.

After British employers and employed reach the American standard of economical production Britain will still remain heavily handicapped in the industrial race by the enormous load of taxation under which her producers labour as compared with America. It seems to the writer that this should be one, if not the chief, controlling factor in determining the world policy of the nation. It must soon force itself upon statesmen.

"The blood has not deteriorated. It is the financial and political situation which is alarming, for it needs no prophet to foretell that a continuance of the aggressive temper which alienates other Governments and peoples, and which has mistaken territorial acquisition for genuine empire making, must soon strain the nation's power and lay upon its productive capacity such burdens as will render it incapable of retaining the present volume of trade which is essential to the preservation of Britain's position as foremost in the world financially, commercially, and industrially (American Union *hors concours*).

"If ever a nation had clear and unmistakable warnings, as the writer thinks, that the time has arrived when it should henceforth measure its responsibilities and ambitions throughout the world with its resources, and cut its garment according to its cloth, it is the dear old motherland of the race, with its trade stationary, an army of 30,000 men or more to be provided for in South Africa even after peace comes; its expenditure and taxation increasing, and its promises to pay already at such a discount as to attract capital from across the Atlantic. Rocks ahead, sure enough, but this does not mean that the officers of the ship of state are to drive it full steam upon them. On the contrary, it should mean that the rocks, being now in sight, should be avoided."

In Australia as well as in Canada the Census shows an increase of population, Canada of half a million and Australia of three-fourths of a million. Canada seems to have had no further history during the quarter. But in Australia, the claim of the House of Representatives to exclusive power to grant supplies has been abandoned. The Lower House has sole power in originating Appropriation Bills, but both Houses have equal power in granting supplies. The Defence Bill provides for a small force of Regulars and large forces of Militia, Mounted Infantry and Volunteers, and the classification of all adult males. All male British subjects between 18 and 60 years of age are liable to serve in time of emergency. An official return of the Defence Forces shows that there are 61,223 men and 15,000 cadets (grown up school lads). The Duke of Cornwall lately reviewed 9,000 men of all arms in Sydney, N. S. W. Mr. Chamberlain having recently disallowed the local Queensland Anti-Asiatic Act, because it placed Japanese in the same category as Asiatics generally (where are they to be?) and excluded Indians solely on account of race and colour, Mr. Barton, the Commonwealth Premier, has introduced a Bill containing a drastic restriction on immigration, including an educational test. He has also, in view of the recent move for the employment of lascars

on the Orient Steamers, announced that the Commonwealth favoured the exclusive employment of whites on the Mail Steamers. (The Australian Labour Unions, who dominate the country, have raised the outcry against the lascars, in view of the Orient Line's move and the recent decision by the King's Bench regarding space for white and colored seamen.) The Senate, however, rejected a proposal that vessels carrying Mails should be exclusively manned by whites. Mr. Barton has promised to take action in regard to future contracts. Western Australia has at last thrown off the *incubus* of the Forrest Ministry, and Mr. George Leake is now Premier, and Attorney-General, with Messrs. Illingworth, Holmes, Kingsmill, Gregory, and Sommers with other portfolios. New Zealand is determined to keep out of the Commonwealth, and being annoyed at something done by the British Admiralty, has intimated to the Cape authorities that no further discharges of New Zealand troopers will be allowed in South Africa, but they must be sent home (N. Z.). New Zealand is very cheeky, and yet has Women Suffrage!

Finally, we have our cousins the United States. General Chaffee has been appointed military governor of the Philippines. A great Pan-American Congress exclusive of Canada, [illegible] declined to enter, will be held in Mexico under the pr[illegible] States, to which all the independent states in North and South America invited. The silver "question" is believed to have dropped out of American politics. There has been a great steel strike, involving most of the great companies and 100,000 men. The Chinese merchants in America are organising a movement in favour of the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act on the grounds of fair play, in return for the opening of Chinese ports, and also demand to be placed on the same footing as the Japanese. The American Admiralty has acceded to Admiral Schley's request for a Court of Enquiry into his conduct at the Battle of Santigo, a recent history of the navy having accused him of cowardice and mendacity. There has been terrible heat during the summer, and large number of deaths from it, as well as much crops withered up. An immense international Salt Trust, to comprise all the great companies in America, Canada, and England, has been spoken of; and Mr. Pierport Morgan and over twenty delegates from the New York Chamber of Commerce have been over to England, where they have been banquetted by the London Chamber of Commerce, and afterwards received by King Edward and the Queen at a special interview granted them at Windsor Castle.*

* As these pages are passing through the [illegible]
MacKinley has been assassinated by an [illegible]

INDIA—POLITICAL.—We must here still give the first consideration to the subject of the memorial to Queen Victoria. The collections have not advanced very much further, though the New York Chamber of Commerce has subscribed five thousand dollars, Sir Henry King five thousand rupees, and the Army in India nearly a lakh. The total we suppose will ultimately amount to about forty lakhs, a very handsome sum and sufficient for the purpose had an appropriate Art-memorial been determined on, or the plan of granite shafts or pillars marking the boundaries and capitals of the Empire, but not nearly enough for a building—even if not "faced with marble"—in the proximity of Government House which is to show any other than contemptibly small beside it. We have to take the foundations into consideration, for these, in a soil which was practically once the soft bed of the river, have to be sunk to an extraordinary depth and then even probably supported on platforms! Let us make no mistake in regard to the cost even if we have to construct merely a second Museum in a city which already boasts of an Imperial Museum, rich in treasures of every kind, and in a corner room of which all the old chain armour and faded letters (also misplaced busts!) which the Viceroy prizes so highly, could be accommodated. We have hopes of making a convert of him even at the eleventh hour. An incomplete Museum, of a partial and trifling character, excluding, too, the entire great Hindu period which alone truly marks the nation, for the Mahommedans are mere late exotics—we had almost said excrescences on the national life—and that when nine-tenths of the subscriptions have flowed from Hindu Princes, would seem to be self-condemned. And all this when the erection cannot but seem mean compared to the vast adjacent pile of Government House, when the money will not suffice, and the most of it be sunk in the foundations, when it is merely the carrying out of a private notion of the Viceroy which he had before this occasion rose—as he has himself ingenuously confessed—what right has he to introduce his private and previous notions into a great national Memorial subject like this?—and finally, which he will hardly see begun, and no one will after see carried through, and will ultimately fall into a melancholy spectacle. As excluding the Hindu period it does injustice both to the true, great and real Hindu nation of India, as well as to the vast and large body of Hindu subscribers. As a private, and selfish antiquarian matter, it has no business in a public national Memorial of such a great and peerless Queen. It is entirely beside its object and will appear mean in comparison with it, will swallow up all the money in foundations alone, and will never be seen through by its originator or by any one.

Let it, therefore, we say, even at the eleventh hour be given up, and a truly national and representative Committee (to include ourselves) be ordered to report as to its form and even as to the site. If in Calcutta, the Zoological Gardens will furnish the best site. It will be a sad thing for our popular, pleasant, hard-working and energetic Viceroy, to whom India is indebted for being pushed ahead, to be remembered in future in connection with the phrase (invented, we believe, by the *Pioneer*) "Curzon's Folly," and as always happens, by that alone, for the good deeds done by him will all be forgotten in the catch-phrase. We trust it will be seen that we speak even for his own true fame and name. It is also not consistent in our opinion, for him, the ruler and chief of one of the great empires of the earth, to descend to writing magazine articles, even if in support of his views as he has lately done in the *Nineteenth Century*. It has amazed us. It is not only unconventional, but *infra dig.* When we find in it statements of the most extraordinary description to support his pet project, depreciating Delhi and its Imperial site, character and claims, by referring to it as "merely the residence of a Commissioner," and so forth, we can hardly believe our own eyes and are dumb-founded. No more can Rome in Italy be run down, or the Jerusalem of Solomon's Temple and Titus' Siege. Delhi is the Mecca of India, and Lord Curzon will never be able to belittle it. Lord Curzon may be sure that Delhi and its Imperial glories of three thousand years will outlast all he can say against it (and he is the only one we remember who has ever done so)—we had almost said outlast the future! But as we have a whole article—for which we have not space in our present number—on his paper in the *Nineteenth Century*, taking it ruthlessly and mercilessly to pieces, we refrain from saying any more on the subject at present. We are sure he would not like to see the article. As a matter both of fact and wisdom, there was no need at all of the *Nineteenth Century* article; and still less of any reference to, or belittling of Delhi. When one has a bad cause, it is best to remain silent. In conclusion we shall be only too glad to be able to say in our next Quarter's Notes that he has made over the whole thing to a representative Committee, and washed his hands entirely of the matter; and we venture to say that he, too, will be mightily glad. (There will also be no further need of publishing the cutting and slashing article we have referred to.) In all this controversy we note with the greatest pleasure the gift of the King-Emperor of a series of paintings which were executed by command of her late Majesty, and illustrate important events in her life and reign. This was only what might have been

expected of the invariable sense of appropriateness evinced by His Majesty, and his regard for both his beloved Mother and India. Should the Memorial take another form, the paintings may appropriately grace the great Marble Hall of Government House. It is also pleasant to note the considerable success of the Victoria Scholarship Fund originated by Lady Curzon, who is soon—we are extremely pleased to know—coming out to join the Viceroy, and who has lately had a special audience with the good Queen Alexandra at Windsor. The Fund now amounts to four-and-a-half lakhs, and may ultimately reach five lakhs, and a great deal of good will be done with it. The Indian Women's Victoria Memorial Scheme (which almost cut against the above Fund) started by Lady Harnam Singh, although excellent in its aims, has not made the progress that was anticipated of it, but we trust much good will come of it. It is charitable and educational in its objects, and unites all classes and nationalities of Indian Women socially and in a common and worthy aim. Before we pass from the subject of Memorials, we may as well say that the very large sum of several lakhs, collected in the North-West Provinces, seems to be absolutely thrown away as divided among merely a few statues of the late Queen-Empress whose statues are numerous and common enough. Instead of these, one great Art-Memorial in the centre of Prince Alfred Park in Allahabad, would have been far better. This matter of the statues, however, is now beyond recall and Sir A. McDonnell is responsible for it. We may now proceed with matters more appropriately political,—and they are more numerous than ordinary—in due order, and we must give the credit to Lord Curzon, though he has had trying times of it, and in some few instances has even been hard hit, that on the whole he comes out pretty well off. No life, least of all a public ruler's or statesman's life, is one unvarying success or succession of triumphs; and whatever he may himself think, or however much some writers and portions of the press, for reasons, may flatter him into entertaining such an absurd belief, he will find what we say to be true. And first as to Mr. Fanshawe's retirement. We refrain from passing any comment on this for the reason that we have not the full evidence before us whether it was the result of an undue or a justifiable sensitiveness on the part of Mr. Fanshawe. There is no doubt that the Punjab has had the proud title of "The Frontier Province" taken away from it—in our opinion the separation is a mistake, and will be proved to be such, and we have been offered a paper on this view of the case by an old Punjabi, which we may yet accept—; and further, that its officers lose immensely; and Mr. Fanshawe's resignation may

have been necessary from a public point of view. That Mr. Fanshawe alone should have done so may be due as much to his very prominent position in the service, as to his extreme and keen sense of honor—all the Fanshawes from a long gone age have been known to us as possessing a most chivalric and keen sense of honor. That Lord Curzon should have made no attempt, if possible, to retain such a man in the service of the Government of India, is without excuse. Better than some already occupying some high positions, Mr. Fanshawe would have proved an able ruler. We cannot say if there is yet time for the Viceroy to induce Mr. Fanshawe to withdraw his resignation, and place him in one of these seats. *Noblesse oblige*, and India would be benefitted, while a bad wound would be healed. It may be a "counsel of perfection," but it is on righteousness, mercy, grace, humility and truth that even public life is based, and Beauty (grace) and Strength go *together* to form the pillars of the portal of the Temple of Wisdom and the Universe of God. As for the remarks of the London *Spectator* on the subject, they are simply impertinent. The *Spectator* has long lost touch of India, though it still makes a show of knowing something about it with catch-phrases and inconsequential assertions. We are sorry to have to say this of a paper which, while Townsend lived, was once so highly respected. Before we pass from this subject of the creation of the "Frontier Provinces" and its untoward consequences, we may refer to the creation of a new Government, a Chief Commissionership, out of Orissa, Chota-Nagpur, and the Eastern portion of the Central Provinces, both the Governments of Bengal and the Central Provinces being quite too large and unwieldy, and these outlying portions, which would form an extensive Government, being in consequence very much neglected. We are sure that Lord Curzon would both do the right thing here, promote progress and efficiency, and wound no undue susceptibilities. Our present Governments—their limits—were formed on mere haphazard and as occasion rose. There was no principle underlying, for instance for Orissa and Chota-Nagpur going along with Bengal, or even Ganjam with Madras, or the Sumbhulpore division of the Central Provinces first going along with Orissa and then being included in the Central Provinces. This is a large subject. At present we only allude to it, and draw Lord Curzon's serious attention to relieving both Bengal and the Central Provinces of heavy and unnecessary burdens, and starting an immense tract of country on a new and prosperous basis even as was done with Assam. For a name we should call it the Curzon Provinces! With reference to the contemplated removal of the Headquarter of the Punjab Government from Simla we think

it would be most unwise, even if we neglected to consider the matter of expense. Lord Curzon has to consider the case of future Viceroys who may know nothing of Central Asiatic or Frontier matters, and the proximity of the Punjab ruler would be of the greatest help to such. Besides contingencies may arise when the Lieutenant-Governor's near presence—even as Sir Frederick Halliday had to shift from Alipore and take up his quarters near Government House during the Mutiny—will be demanded with any Viceroy at Simla. Lord Curzon, however, has scored in having set the Imperial Cadet Corps project into motion. The subject was not absent from Lord Dufferin's mind when the Imperial Service Troops were instituted, but it was not thought judicious to move too fast and undertake too much at once. And the *Statesman* has shown that the idea of an Imperial Cadet Corps was first set forth by that famous soldier and administrator (and also, we will add, however little recognised as such, *author*), Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the oldest and most prolific contributors to the *Calcutta Review*, where probably some germs of his suggestion now carried out, may be discovered. We have no doubt the *Cadet Corps* will be highly popular among the class to whom it applies. As a career for the *younger* sons of Native princes, there can be nothing better. But they will have to live "laborious days"—for soldiering is no trifling matter now-a-days—and probably on scanty fare as compared with their present reckless extravagance. In order to follow up his action, the Viceroy has deputed his Private Secretary, Mr. Walter Lawrence, to visit the Chiefs' Colleges at Ajmere, Indore and Rajkot, to arrange preliminaries with the Political Officers and Principals of these institutions. The official *communiqué* issued to the press recognises that there are many difficulties in the way of the project being a success, and that the experiment at present will be of a tentative character. We quote it here at length :—

> "A large field is already provided for the military employment of Native officers of good birth or position, of whom there are nearly 3,000 in the commissioned ranks of the Native Army, but there has been a dearth of a corresponding opening for the sons of Indian princes, nobles, and gentlemen, who are every day receiving a superior education, but for whom opportunities of active public service when they reach years of manhood are restricted. The desire to devise some outlet for the military aspirations of these classes has long been felt, but the difficulties in connection both with selection and tuition, with military rank and military duties, have barred the way. The experiment which has now been sanctioned will be of a tentative character, and some time will elapse before its details have been fully worked out. It rests upon the periodical selection of a small number probably some twenty to start with, of scions of families such as have been described who will with rare exceptions be drawn from the four Chiefs' Colleges at Ajmere, Lahore, Rajkot, and Indore, and who will constitute what will be known as the Imperial Cadet Corps, under

the command of a specially selected Commandant and Adjutant. The cadets will pass through a two years' course of training in the cold weather and will from time to time be in personal attendance upon the Viceroy on ceremonial and other occasions. At the end of the second year there may be some among them who will be called away to either military or civil employment in the States or Provinces to which they belong. There may be others who will not have developed any taste for a military profession. For the remainder it is contemplated that a more sustained military course in a garrison class should be instituted in the third year, and that upon such as emerge successfully from this test and have satisfied the requisite standard of efficiency the rank, position, and duty of a British officer in the Staff or other extra regimental military employment should, as suitable vacancies occur, be conferred, in such a manner that a military career would be opened to those who had satisfactorily vindicated their character and capacity. It is manifest that the success of the scheme will depend upon the co-operation which it meets with from the princely and noble classes, whom it is intended to befriend; upon careful selection in the first place, and careful management afterwards. It can only be slow in its operation, and its future must in the main be dependent upon experience. It would be unwise, therefore, at the present stage to form exaggerated expectations, but it is the hope of the Viceroy and the Government of India that in the detailed plans which will be elaborated between now and the cold weather may be laid, the foundations of a reform that will both be esteemed as a recognition of the patriotism of the Indian aristocracy, and may in time become a source of strength to the State. The scheme has been honoured with the cordial approval of His Majesty the King Emperor, who has desired it to be made known that he has welcomed this opportunity of testifying his confidence in the loyalty of his Indian feudatories and subjects in the opening year of his reign."

As if, however, the fates were determined to cloud Lord Curzon in even this, Mr. McLaren Morrison, well-known as a leading merchant of Calcutta, and also author of some really nice books, has come forward to claim the credit of having put it before the Viceroy. The Private Secretary of the Viceroy has denied Mr. McLaren Morrison's assertion. Mr. Morrison unhappily was not aware of Sir Henry Lawrence having really first originated the idea, or that it was one that was seriously contemplated by Lord Dufferin. But for the *Pioneer* to write of Mr. McLaren Morrison as "somebody called Mr. ——, etc., is ludicrous. Mr. Morrison, as every one is aware, is a leading and well-known Calcutta merchant, and has written several very useful books, the perusal of one of which—*Life's Prescriptions*—we would strongly recommend to the journalistic scribe above referred to, and who, we are sure, would be glad to make the "somebody's" personal acquaintance, although he has such a horribly long Scotch name.

Coming to another, though almost related matter with Indian Princes being trained to modern warfare, we find that not only the Mahsuds, but other tribes are showing signs of unusual activity. Even in Swat there has been internal strife

which we have put down. Questions have been put in the Home Parliament about this unrest, and "answered"—as usual. There can be no doubt, however, that, assuming the Ameer dies soon, or somehow or other does something which leads to something else for which he is not officially, or even morally, responsible, there will be some sort of repetition of former troubles for which we should be prepared, even if we have not a Sir William Lockhart or Colonel Warburton now living, and Lord Curzon may find his inception of "the Frontier Province" break down at the first start, and only make confusion worse confounded with the Punjab inter-related, and yet separated. We are not yet aware what effect this creation of the new "Frontier Province" has had on the imaginations and ideas of the tribes, though this may account for the unrest.

Orders have been issued for the Government of India Offices to close in Simla on the 2nd November, Saturday, and to re-open in Calcutta on the Monday following, the 4th, but Lord Curzon himself goes by a long and unfrequented route by way of Manipur to Burmah,—during which he will be cut off from the immediate Government of the country, as there are many marching stages,—returning to Calcutta only by the middle of December. We do not see the necessity of his going by that route at all, nor of his thus cutting himself off from the rest of India, at a time, too, when he may be urgently wanted.

Meanwhile, there will presently be a great shuffling of the cards of high Government appointments and Lieutenant-Governorships owing to a number of them falling in, and both Sir John Woodburn and Sir Antony McDonnell have been up at Simla. An article on "Our Rulers" in this issue, written in a vein, we should like to see absent, especially as against our very amiable and earnest-minded Viceroy, will be found treating on the subject of these changes. It is a fact, however, that if Mr. Rivaz is to go to the Punjab, Sir John Woodburn may have to be indented for for the North-West Provinces, while Sir Richard Fryer may go to Bengal, and Mr. Cotton sent to Burmah, Mr. Fuller taking the latter's place in Assam. With the exception of Mr La Touche,* who has already officiated for the North-West Provinces, there is no one save Sir John Woodburn, and he originally belonged to those Provinces. Colonel Barr, as having passed his life in political service, and as a military man, could not oust the claims of the Civil Service. We may add that Mr. Buckland has some claims for promotion, and if the new Curzon Province of

* Mr. La Touche has since we note the above been appointed to the N.-W. P.—the best that could have been made.

Chota-Nagpur, Orissa and Sumbhulpoor (capital Ranchi) be formed, Mr. Buckland may gain a step there and the Central Provinces given to Mr. La Touche Should Mr. Fraser be sent to Assam Mr. Fuller may have his turn in the Central Provinces, Mr. La Touche being sent to the new Province. Really, we think that even as a matter of justice to the Service in regard to promotion the new Province we advocate should be created. In all the preceding changes we have forborne naming Mr. Ibbetson for obvious reasons, but his name may be interchanged with Mr. Cotton's, or Mr. Fraser's, or Mr. Fuller's, or Mr. Buckland's, he being hardly ripe yet for any of the higher posts of Bengal, Burmah, the North-West Provinces, and the P. P. And able as is Mr. Barnes, he has had as yet little administrative experience, and as a Political Officer he is unrivalled. He cannot be spared from the Foreign Office for a long while yet. Pursuing his idea of the curtailment of Reports, the Viceroy has placed Mr. Impey, Commissioner of Agra, on special duty in the North-West Provinces. At the same time, a critic of the measure has appeared in the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Mr. Cotton, who draws attention to the "constant and irksome reference to the statements in the appendices" in his Resolution on the Sanitary Report of the Province for 1900. We are afraid that the measure, though affecting at present only some few score of clerks in the public offices, will run itself out. Things must take their course—even if a spick-and-span new Native Minister in Mysore is quick to follow the Viceroy's lead—and there is really more inconvenience suffered by the change than advantage. We should think a private instruction to the heads of Governments, or of Offices, to the effect of using moderation according to requirements would have been better calculated to serve the Viceroy's ends. Under his Resolution, as pointed out, we believe by some paper, the old and extremely valuable Reports—on which almost all our knowledge of India is based—would have been impossible.

The matter of religion in education, to which sentiment Lord Curzon gave utterance in his speech at Alighur, bore the fruit that might have been expected. One of those Bengali papers which know how to twist the most ordinary utterances to advertise themselves and to *pose* as public saviours, came forth with a leader beginning :—

"We hear that the Government of India is ready to introduce into our schools and colleges the study of the Bible," and so on, inventing minute details of the scheme from his own fertile and crooked brain, even dragging the Metropolitan's and the Maharajah of Durbhunga's names into it! To any one who knows what the lower Bengali newspapers are no

refutation was necessary : the whole thing was an invention for an end. Unfortunately the end was attained by the *Pioneer* giving currency to the article by a translation, and Sir Antony McDonnell simply taking it up. This, of course, could only lead to an official denial by the Supreme Government through the same person. We gave credit to Sir A. McDonnell of greater sense, wisdom and gravity. The Maharajah of Durbhunga also denied any knowledge of the wicked lie. Whatever our own personal views of the introduction of religion—or of the Bible—into public Government institutions may be,—and we do think the whole system of such public education is wrong in every essential,—the question is one that cannot be practically discussed at present owing to the system being a perverted one. How and wherein the system is to be altered, both for the true progress of education and not the mere turning out any number of ill-educated clerks who even if B. As. cannot often write a correct sentence of English, and for supplying religion as a basis for life and conduct, is not under discussion before us at present. But taking the text of the Metropolitan's pious and Christian aspiration that he hoped this century, before it ended, would see the Bible included in Colleges in India, which the *Pioneer* had previously misunderstood, the Bishop of Madras, caught at the opportunity of delivering another of his carefully-worded semi-political speeches on the subject, in which he certainly misapprehended, as did previously a portion of the Press whom we should have expected to have been better informed, or misconstrued,—the excellent Bishop Welldon, to be himself, in turn, very justly taken to pieces by the Native Chairman of the Meeting Mr. Justice Narhari Row. We regret that we have not space at present to furnish fuller details of a very interesting matter except to completely exonerate the Metropolitan. In the matter of the Bible in schools the Viceroy needs no exoneration. The invention or lie should have been treated with profound contempt and utter silence instead of a public and official denial, got up, we may say, by Sir A. McDonnell. We come now to the incident of what has been termed "the Cooper's Hill Snub." Here again it was a "friendly" paper—we wont particularise—which led the way by terming the few words in which Lord Hamilton merely observed on the inconvenience caused to him by certain claims being pressed on him, "a sharp rebuke," "a snub," and the like. Where there was neither "sharp rebuke," nor "snub," such a view taken by a leading journal, and accordingly repeated almost necessarily at once everywhere, made it one, and placed Lord Curzon in a most unenviable position before the whole public, from which he was only released by long telegrams and the subsequent explanation offered by Lord Hamilton. It is true

that Lord Hamilton is and must be an autocrat in his own sphere, and can "rebuke sharply" if he has occasion for it, and would not hesitate to do so even to a Viceroy if necessary, but we can state that the present Secretary of State for India is marked by courtesy in his dealings and communications even with lesser persons than his chief subordinate in India, and it seems to us exceedingly wrong, if not wicked, in any leading Anglo-Indian journal or journals to breed trouble between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State even though going on (admittedly) faulty telegrams, while professing to take the former's part. In this matter, indeed, the Viceroy had need to exclaim, "save me from my friends!" However, the incident is over, and Lord Hamilton has since and subsequently, as we shall see, in his Budget speech, shown conclusively his appreciation of our Viceroy's general work. Lord Hamilton is no more to be debarred from alluding to "grave inconveniences" caused by any one than Lord Curzon himself. The Viceroy, evidently smarting under the public comments,—for he refers in his telegram to "widespread attention,"—calls it in his wire a "severe censure" and a "public slur." Lord Hamilton replied: —"Without entering at present upon the question whether the course adopted by your Government was in all respects necessitated by my instructions, I wish to point out at once that the last sentence of my Despatch does not apply to your action generally, but merely to the method in which certain claims were admitted and calculated (see paragraph 9 of my Despatch) and was not intended to cast the smallest slur upon your Government. You are at liberty to publish your telegram and this reply"—a very good reply to a false and created situation. The "Governor-General in Council" has authorised the coming into force of the Punjab Land Alienation Act, and the immediate result, as seen in an auction since, has been the going down of the price of land from Rs. 100 to Rs. 40 per acre—a terrible blow to the Province. The Viceroy must bear with the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province the responsibility of this terrible blow to the wealth of the Province which was strenuously opposed by the native member and which went directly counter to the teachings of political economy for certain supposed humanitarian reasons. Sir James Lyall, at a meeting held at the Westminster Town Hall, to hear a paper read advocating the measures of the Bill by Mr. Thorburn, forbore to give it his support and judiciously said, "he did not think any one could say at present how it would work out." We are afraid it spells reduction of half the value of the land of the Province in order to avert a possible evil. It also means the stamping of the rural classes as such for ever, and will have effects deteriorating the national

character even as Bengal has found to be the case from its unfortunate Permanent Settlement.

Lord Curzon is also pushing on the extension of irrigation scheme. A review of irrigation in India in 1899-1900 shows a nett return of close on 7 *per cent.* on the total major works. The total area of crops irrigated or protected by the different classes of works during the year exceeded eighteen millions of acres. An important Commission on which the various Provinces will be represented will tour through India next cold weather to inspect the irrigation works which are to be undertaken under the scheme started in connection with famine prevention. In the memorandum issued by Mr. Higham, Inspector-General of Irrigation, for the guidance of officers employed in collecting information in connection with the proposed famine protection works, the following were the projects regarding which details were asked for: *Bengal:* The Bagmati Irrigation Project in Muzafferpore District, the Jujuti Canal from the Damudar River in Burdwan and Hughli Districts; the Kamla Irrigation Project in Darbhanga, and tanks in Chota-Nagpur. *North-West Provinces* and *Oudh:* The Ken and Tons Canals, the Belan Project, the Dassan River Canal stoppage reservoirs in Bandelkhand, and the Sarda Canal. The first four are already under investigation. It is not known whether any cities have ever been proposed or examined regarding reservoirs in Bandelkhand. As to the Sarda Canal, a full report on this project was submitted long ago, and nothing more is required, unless additional evidence is now forthcoming. This canal has not been favourably regarded by the experts. *Central Provinces:* The construction of tanks of moderate size in certain districts, schemes for irrigation from the Hiran, Kanhan, Pench and Wardha Rivers, canals from the Narbudda or the Tapti. *The Punjab:* Storage works in Gurgaon District, small inundation canals in Jhelum, Shahpur and other districts; irrigation works in Gujerat District; Markanda Canal. *Madras:* Tungabhadra project in Bellary District, extensions of irrigation in Nellore District, storage works in the Cauvery valley and Paddukottah. *Bombay:* Irrigation Canal from the Tapti for Surat District, storage works in the Deccan. The memorandum referred to stated that the

> "main object to be kept in view is to ascertain about all protective irrigation works which have been proposed on apparently reasonabe grounds, and to ascertain and bring together all those which appear sufficiently promising to merit closer examination based on proper surveys and detailed enquiries. An effort is to be made to report, in sufficient detail, on important works which have already been under investigation to enable final recommendations to be made regarding them in view to sanction being given to an early commencement made on those which are promising, at

the same time that investigations are continued on other projects. The fact that such works may have been negatived a good many years ago is to be no bar to their reconsideration, conditions having since largely changed. The point to be specially borne in mind is not so much whether any particular irrigation work will pay, as to whether, if constructed, it would have caused such a reduction in the enormous sums spent during the past five years on famine relief as would have outweighed the financial loss that might have been expected on it, and whether such loss would be too high a price to pay for its probable value as protective work in preventing or mitigating the horrors and cost of famine.

A Mineral subject may fitly follow Irrigation, as the Viceroy has specially interested himself in giving scope to Prospecting as increasing mining operations and the development of the wealth of the country. But he is hardly aware how his Rules are carried out. In our last we recommended his getting quarterly returns from the Central Provinces and Burmah. The *Madras Mail*, the *Statesman* and other well-informed journals followed up, and improved on what we had said, by recommending the publication of such quarterly returns, *i.e.*, furnishing copies of them to the press. It is not without reason that we urged the Viceroy to get these returns, as we have had instances furnished us which go far to show what may be done by small Local Governments to defeat the Government of India's object in revising and enlarging the Rules and committing the carrying out of them by the Local Governments. And this is borne out by the other journals' comments.

The Central Provinces, which are immediately under the Viceroy's supervision, probably need more attention than any other, as it has been doing uncommonly badly under Mr. Fraser as Chief Commissioner. The death-rate, evidently the result of the famines, rose last year from a mean of 32·44 to 56·75—in 1897 it was 69·34 per mille—from the small total of some ten millions of population, more than *two millions* have perished during the last few years! And the pinch of poverty—which ultimately means death—is still heavily felt all over. Of course, for the scarcity Mr. Fraser is not responsible, but for the steps taken to meet that scarcity so as to save life, and for other steps to lessen poverty by increasing employment for the labouring classes as in mines, etc. What has been done as regards these? Mr. Fraser has been only "unfortunate" some will say, and we are reminded of the first Rothschild's maxim to "exclude unfortunate and unlucky men from any relations with your operations." The Central Provinces, which extend from Ganjam on the East Coast to Rajputana on the West, form too large a charge for any ordinary Chief Commissioner. (Only Sir Richard Temple in his younger days, by his marvellous activity—and there were no railways then—was ever able to meet the requirements of his

position); and this matter of size may have had something to do with Mr. Fraser being "unfortunate"

In regard to the late Census, a change in the age tables is notified, with a view of illustrating accurately the extent to which Infant Marriage prevails. There has also been considerable commotion among the "Khetry" class by their being included among "bunniahs." The *Indian Social Reformer* writes that if the Government of India wished to set the several castes of the Hindus by the ears, it could not have devised a more effective scheme than the institution of the so-called Caste Precedence Committees which are creating so much dissension in the country. Indeed, we fail to see how any Government can attempt to decide in the matter of castes. It may be right to take some general—say the four—divisions, but to go beyond is both futile and impossible, and as shown above even causes mischief. It is a matter of race, origin, religion, and occupation, and we had best let it alone. In the matter of the Khettries, or Kshettryas as some spell it, we have ourselves, in times long gone by, when castes were better recognised and more rigidly separated or distinguished, specially made enquiries about them, in various parts of India, and have found that though pursuing ordinary occupations they formed an upper class—nearly related to the second or military class. It is not surprising then, that even now, a couple of generations removed from those times, when much has been done everywhere to obliterate even Brahmins they should revolt against being placed among "bunniahs." We trust that moderation and good sense will rule in the matter, and that everyone's estimate of himself will be taken even if he says he is descended from Rama. We may have something more to say on this point regarding the Khettries, as it involves large numbers of very influential and prominent people everywhere. Mr. H. H. Risley is in charge of the census work.

The Agricultural Banks Commission, which we reported, meeting at Simla last quarter, has come to the conclusion we foresaw—experiments suited to provinces.

The total revenues to the end of June this year is one and a half crores better than to the same date in 1900. There has also been a considerable increase in the Post Office, and it seems time that while some of the urgently-called-for reforms indicated in our last number by "Augareion" are taken in hand, some slight additions be made to salaries all round, down to even the Postal peons. The lower and lowest grades of the Post Office are miserably ill-paid, and their responsibilities, and also temptations, are great. But they are also exceedingly hard worked—harder perhaps than in any other

department of the State. The Rupee Loan for one crore in this country was covered six times over, which is very satisfactory considering the failure of the three millions loan at home. Finally, in regard to imperial matters, the Ghazipur correspondent of the *Statesman* wrote saying that the Opium Cultivators of that—the largest—Agency have gone on strike and refused to accept the advance usually made to them annually. They want a higher price of course—which spells reduction of the revenue raised by Government from the Opium Monopoly, and, what we advocate, the throwing open the cultivation and leaving it under ordinary conditions of trade. Government could easily, a few short years ago, see the "mote" that was in the Bengal Indigo Planter's eye, but cannot see the "beam" that is in its own eye in regard to this Government-ordained Opium Cultivation, which deprives the ryots and others of probably a couple millions sterling annually. There is an easy way of getting out of it, and yet maintaining the quality and the revenue, and Lord Curzon may yet see fit to rid the Government of the double foul blot of manufacturing Opium to force it down the Chinese throats, and of depriving the poor ryots of the gains that now go into the pockets of Jews and Marwarries. If the above strike extends throughout India, it will be too late to take the matter in hand.

In the Local Governments, a Resolution of the Bengal Government on the

> "Report on emigration from the port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies in 1900 states that of the 11,674 emigrants who embarked, 10,095 were Hindus and 1,575 Mahommedans; of these 4,588 proceeded to Demerara, 1,878 to Trinidad, 670 to Jamaica, 1,753 to Mauritius, 481 to Natal and 2,304 to Fiji. These 11,674 emigrants included 235 return emigrants. Steamers conveyed emigrants to Mauritius and Natal only, ships proceeding to the other Colonies. The death-rate on the whole appears to have been high, being 2·50 per cent. on the 15 sailing vessels, as compared with 1·05 per cent. on 17 vessels in the preceding year. The number of emigrants who returned from the Colonies was 3,147, as compared with 2,421 in 1899. There were 88 deaths or 2 78 per cent., as compared with 52 or 2·12 per cent., in the previous year. The largest number of emigrants, *viz.*, 1,145, returned from Demerara with aggregate savings of Rs. 1,5,9730, or an average of Rs. 139·8 per head. Trinidad comes next with a smaller number of returning emigrants, *viz*, 730, and shows an average saving of Rs. 214 per head. The smallest number, *viz.*, 17, returned from Reunion, without any savings. The all-round average saving per head was Rs 165, as against Rs. 159 in the previous year. Of the total number of emigrants who returned to India, 1,727 brought back savings."

Mr. Geidt, Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal affairs, who lately officiated at Noakhali as Sessions Judge after Mr. Pennell was suspended, has been appointed a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. There is a considerable local

Agitation for the appointment of more Judges and Officers of the High Court. In Madras there has been considerable distress is the great Arcot district, and the press has already begun to inweigh against Lord Ampthill for not having met it in time. A new Court of Wards Bill is to be considered, and that not before its time. Indeed the case of Lodd Govindas, who has sunk twenty lakhs of rupees in one of these Wards' Estates, is without a parallel for absolute injustice. The Hon'ble Mr. Nicholson, on his return to India from England in the beginning of October, will be placed on special duty in Madras in connection with Agricultural Banks and will return to Calcutta for the Supreme Legislative Council Session in the middle of December.

In Bombay there has been considerable class-opposition to the Land Revenue Bill, and the Government has taken the unusual course of replying at length to the criticisms passed on its Land Revenue Bill. On the main point to which criticism has been directed, *viz.*, that the passing of the Bill will mean a reduction of the status of the ryot over a large area in the Presidency, the Government asserts that there is an unaccountable misapprehension. It is entirely at the option of any person to accept the lease under the special terms proposed. The Secretary of State at Home has characterised the agitation as having been got up by the money-lending class.

In the North-West Provinces it is understood that Sir Antony MacDonnell resigns his office as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces on the 6th November and leaves for England a few days later. We believe few will regret his departure, for few like great ability, united with a strong and merciless hand, and the desire—it may have been unconscious—to advertise himself, which last was so discernible in his quickly taking up the absurd matter of the Bible in schools and even trying to hit the Metropolitan. We say only trying; for he has not succeeded. We shall have to say something more regarding this below in its proper place. The Land Tenancy Bill, which he has lately succeeded in forcing on the charge under him—forcing by his powerful intellect—is already being cried out against even by European landlords. It is supposed the matter will be sent up to Parliament. We do not know why everywhere there has been of late so much Land Legislation in India.

We conclude this section of our remarks by the following proceedings in Parliament relating to India :—

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF INDIA.—Mr. W. Redmond asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could state the total public debt of India in 1875 and in 1900; and also the total military budget of the Indian Army in 1875 and in 1900.

LORD G. HAMILTON.—Taking the Indian figures as pounds of Rs. 15

each, the total public debt of India was £95,163,672 on the 31st March, 1875, and £199,127,535 on the 31st March, 1900. But during this period £109,700,320 has been spent on Public Works, Railways, and Irrigation, bringing in a large revenue. The net military expenditure in 1875-76 was £9,763,013, and in 1900-1901 £14,239,106.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.—Mr Field asked the Secretary for India if he could say when the Indian Budget would be introduced.

LORD G. HAMILTON was afraid he could not state the exact day.

MR. MACNEILL: Will the Report of the Famine Committee be issued before the Budget is introduced?

LORD G. HAMILTON. I do not think it will be possible the papers of the Famine Commission must be considered in Council, as the questions were complex and most important and it would be unable to come to a conclusion thereon for some little time.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.—Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the first Lord of the Treasury whether he would endeavour to arrange for the Indian Budget to be taken this session at an earlier date than was usually the case; and, if so, whether he could give any indication as to when the debate would take place.

MR. BALFOUR.—I do not think in the present condition of public business that I can hold out any hope to the Hon'ble Member that any unusual facilities will be given to the discussion of the Indian Budget.

THE INCOME TAX LIMIT IN INDIA.—Lord George Hamilton stated that he was not disposed to raise the limit of income tax exemption in India, and that any changes in taxation must be regulated by the condition of the Indian finances.

THE INDIAN BUDGET IN PARLIAMENT.

London, *16th August*.—In the House of Commons to-night, Lord George Hamilton presented the Indian Budget. He said he doubted whether since India was first under the jurisdiction of the Crown, any Secretary of State had been able to make such a satisfactory statement. The surpluses had been large, continuous and progressive. Notwithstanding the drought India as a whole had been prosperous, and this was conclusive evidence that the economic movement in India was on the up grade. He hoped in a few years that the coal output would be doubled. He proposed to appoint a Railway expert who would start immediately; but before he finally reported he would investigate the systems in America with a view of introducing them in India, and would attend specially to the development of light railways in populous agricultural districts. The Land Revenue assessments were not above the capacity of the average cultivator, unless he was in the hands of money-lenders. An experiment would be made in establishing an Agricultural Banks Agency, which, next to Railways and Irrigation, helped the fighting of famine.

There would be an enquiry into the Educational system. It was believed that too much attention had been given to secondary instead of primary education.

He eulogised the work of Lord Curzon, promoting as it did everything tending to the internal prosperity of India, and said he used his rare power with his sympathetic eloquence to bring home to the native communities the beneficence and unselfishness of British intentions. There were inevitable difficulties ahead which could never be solved unless we carried the conviction of the great mass of the population of the integrity and probity of the British.

Lord George Hamilton hoped that the new century would be associated with a fresh era of the recuperative progress of India, he held out no hope of a reduction in the military expenditure, and feared that probably there would be some increase in ensuing years. The Government was incurring a large capital expenditure on rail roads and irrigation, and would be able to meet the bulk of this expenditure from its cash balances, surpluses and other resources, and the remainder by loans in India and Great Britain. Referring to the recent abortive issue of a sterling loan, he declared that, owing to an increase in the estimated surplus, he thought he would be able

to meet all requirements without difficulty this year. He reserved discretion regarding the method of raising the capital required for certain Railway Companies, and suggested that there should be an enquiry into irrigation works, and encouraging local bodies or well-to-do individuals in storing and distributing water.

To wind up:—A permanent monument to the memory of Sir Donald Stewart, who may be said to have been our salvation in the last Afghan War, is proposed by a large number of distinguished Military Officers, among whom we are pleased to see Lord Roberts' name. At least he can never forget what he owed to Sir Donald Stewart. Mr. T. W. Holderness has got an appointment in the India Council, to the great loss of India. An Indian Famine Union has been started by Mr. Wedderburn to report on suggested remedies as irrigation, Agricultural Banks, re-afforestation, administrative reform, village industries, migration, grain storage, export duties on grain, and technical education; and both Messrs. J. D. Rees and Dadabhai Naoraji, after being on the Committee, have resigned! Finally Lord Harris, who is always willing to oblige anybody, in his seat in the House of Lords, brought up the subject of the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief and the two Governors of Bombay and Madras taking leave of absence out of India, *on medical certificate!* Of course the *ballon d' essai* failed. We have a shrewd suspicion of *who put him up to it.*

NATIVE PRINCES, STATES, &c.—We note here, first, as connected with a cause of rejoicing, and charity, the marriage of the young Nawab of Bahawulpur. Over 12,000 guests, about half of whom were native ladies, took part in the marriage procession. The Nawab set an example to other Chiefs and Nobles by curtailing the expenditure originally sanctioned for the festivities by one-half, and forwarded a liberal contribution to the Mahommedan Orphanage at Lahore. He has also forwarded a gift of three lakhs to the Famine Trust Fund originated by the munificence of the Maharajah of Jeypur. Colonel Grey is the representative of Government in Bahawulpur.

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda has been lately going over many parts of North India to see and note things for himself. Of his great enlightenment, putting many of ourselves to shame, we have already referred in our last quarter's notes. Under such a Prince, Baroda is sure to progress morally, socially, and materially, and it is not surprising therefore for us to note that His Highness has caused to be published in his *Gazette* a Bill to legalise the Re-marriage of Widows on the lines of the British enactment of 1856. That His Highness is supported by his subjects in the proposed reform may be seen from the Praja Mandal coming forward to

thank His Highness, and even to suggest that clauses should be inserted in the Bill prohibiting the ill-treatment by disfigurement of widows and entiting re-married couples to sue successfully in a court of law in cases of contempt and persecution by their caste.

We referred in our last to impending changes in Hyderabad official circles, and recommended the employment of a Hindu Prime Minister. This has since been done by the Nizam, and we trust the result will justify his selection.

We referred to the "revolution" in Nepal in our last, the notorious Bir Shumshere having gone or been sent to his final account. He was succeeded by his eldest brother Deb Shumshere Jung, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Things, however, did not seem to go well in the country, and the Maharajah Dhiraj dismissed him on the 26th June, appointing a far more capable man Chandra Shumshere, his—Deb Shumshere's—younger brother. It is strange to see the ignorance betrayed by the general press in connection with this event. The *Pioneer* wrote saying :—"Whatever the causes which led up to the *dénoûement* it is clear that, Deb Shumshere would not have taken his dismissal so placidly but for one of two things; either the Maharajah Dhiraj is a much more powerful force in Nepal politics than he used to be, or Chandra Shumshere must have had complete control of the Army. The latter is probably the true explanation. The King is now twenty-six years of age, but there is no reason to suppose that he has ever thought of breaking through the trammels of a consecrated precedent which has always left the real power in the hands of the Prime Minister." The Maharajah Dhiraj, who is supposed here to be merely a *Roi fainéant*, is the only and sole supreme governing power in the country, deriving his authority directly from the gods, whom he represents. Hence, too, his seldom appearing in public acts, and delegating official duties to another, who is merely his deputy—all influential while retained—removable in an instant. Many of the Nepal Princes are very enlightened, and we reckon some of them as readers and subscribers of this *Review*.

Among the Honors conferred for China, Major His Highness Maharajah Siromani Sri Gunga Singh of Bikanir has been made a K.C.I.E., His Highness Colonel Sir Protáp Singh of Jodhpur and his Highness the Maharajah Sindhia of Gwalior, Honorary Aides-de-Camp to the King-Emperor.

We have already referred to the military career opened for the younger sons of native princes and political chiefs, and it is stated that the first cadet corps camp will be formed this winter in Calcutta, while Agra or Delhi or some other place will be selected for a training camp for the garrison classes,

the cadets returning to their own states in the hot weather. There is no doubt that the scheme will afford a needed stimulus to the existing chiefs' colleges. The Maharaj Râo of Kotâh will shortly be attached to the Deolalie Irregular Force for a course of military training.

Jhallawar, which recently had three coinages extant has adopted the British coinage. It were to be wished that all the States, notably the Nizâm's, adopted the same in the interests of trade.

The inconveniences caused in every way are incalculable. The coinage at least may be made of uniform value with the British, the stamps indicating the names and rulers of the States. In this connection we note the introduction of a new coinage in Travancore, which is very little of an improvement on the old. It comprises a two Chuckram piece and a one Chuckram piece of silver and eight and four cash pieces of copper. The coins have a "chank" on one side and the letters "R. V.," with the coin's name in English and Malayalam on the other side.

The "model" Durbhunga Râj is in trouble with its ryots, and we are afraid not much can be said for it.

Travancore is a happy Hindu country, and from its last Administration Report by the Resident, Mr. Mackenzie, we learn that it is prosperous in every direction. We regret we have not room here for a few extracts which we should much like to give. We may recur to the subject. But of all native chiefs and princes—a Prince without a territory, but owning extraordinary religious allegiance among a class of fanatical Mahommedans—at present mostly engaged in trade in India, who should receive an Honor is His Highness the Aga Khan, and who should give it but the German Emperor! He has conferred on the Chief of "the Assassin" tribe of Crusade times the Crown Order of the first class. His Highness lately was in Germany, but we trust that, as a *British subject*—does he not reckon himself one?—he first obtained permission of the *Indian* Government. If he did not, where is he in this matter? He is a most enlightened Prince. We have, in previous quarters, drawn attention to the want of a well-defined phraseology regarding the Titles of Native Chiefs and Princes. At present men like the Nawabs of Bahawalpur and Rampur are confused with "Nawabs" in Patna, Meerut, Dacca, and Calcutta mere non-political and zemindars, of whom there are several scores. We cannot say where Cooch Behar stands in this connection as a "Maharajah," and were rather surprised to find a number of its rising generation advertised as "Princes" and "Princesses" in a P. and O. boat lately. A French journal became quite merry over it or something similar, and referred to an

imaginary "Prince" passenger who has "native troops in Calcutta, going to congratulate King Edward in the name of the Indian Army," and to confer with "Colonial Minister Chamberlain on the question of colonial reorganisation!" The due separation of political and non-political titles, and the appropriate phraseology to be applied, are really important matters now that India is rising in the scale of nations and of political progress. *A* "Nawab" *in* Dacca or Calcutta is not to be confounded with *the* Nawab *of* Murshidabad or *the* Nawab *of* Bahawulpur, nor *the* Maharajah *of* Gwalior with *a* Maharajah *in* Nattore. We trust to be able to say more on a future occasion on this very important subject and to suggest what distinction should be made in the phraseology. It is Government here, which is the chief offender, and after that the newspapers. Since we wrote last, we have to note the decease of Her Highness the reigning Nawab Shah Jehan Begum of Bhopal, her daughter, Nawab Sultan Jehan succeeding her. The latter is married, and her husband has been recognised as the Nawab-Consort, The real rule, however, is in the hands of a Calcutta native named Moulvi Abdul Jubber, though under new circumstances it may not long remain so. In regard to this decease Sir Edwin Arnold, now suffering under a heavy infliction with his eyes, has written a lot of his usual nonsense with his usual perfervid poetical imagination. We have no space here to do more than to barely refer to it.

There has also deceased the Elaya Rajah and the Senior Rani of Travancore, also the Maharaj Rana of Dholepur, followed immediately after by the decease of his Rani. Some suppose she committed suicide. The family was related to the Patialas, where no sooner was the late Maharajah's body taken out for cremation than his wives were sent off, notwithstanding their remonstrances, to the citadel, whence they can only emerge on a bier; and this it is said had an influence on the Rani of Dholepur not to survive her husband. We can hardly advise in such a matter, except to say that the Government Resident should be present, or consulted, or informed. There may then be no suicides, or half a dozen Queens sent to a prision for life for no crime. The late Rana of Dholepur was entirely given up to "sport," and contrasted in every way with his noble, gentle, useful and enlightened (native-enlightened) father whom he succeeded. Dholepur is a small State, but let us trust the new young Rana, now only eighteen years of age, will be better guided as to his duties by the Viceroy.

In connection with such deaths, it may seem out of place to refer to the annual ceremony of keeping the anniversary of the death of Michael Modhu Sudhan Datta, the greatest of

Indian poets since the Hindu heroic age. He was a Christian, and our old and intimate personal friend, and as we purpose to write some notes on him in connection with Buckland's *Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal*, where his life is briefly sketched out, we omit to say more at present than that if he was not a "prince" in the ordinary acceptation of the word, he was one in genius.

A large number of native gentry and literary bodies in Calcutta united on the occasion at the Circular Road Cemetery where his mortal remains were interred, made speeches, read poems, and decorated the grave. The Muhindra Maharajah Sir Jotindro Mohun Tagore, the leading nobleman of Calcutta, was a particular friend of the deceased poet, and it does credit alike to Sir Jotindro's head and heart that he still remembers him and mourns him. Finally, Rajah Bun Behari Kapur, the father of His Highness the Maharajah of Burdwan, the leading nobleman of Bengal, has been interesting himself in the matter of the proper place of the Ksheytria caste or class in the Government Census Classification, and has presided over many meetings for the purpose from the N.-W. Provinces downwards. As stated previously, we may have more to say on this subject on a future occasion.

We cannot, however, conclude this section without referring to Mian Bhure Singh of Chumba, whose decoration with a C.I.E. we noted in our last number, stating the reason to have been his affording such excellent sport to the Viceroy last year. We have since been informed on good authority that the Mian received his decoration upon the recommendation of the Punjab Government as for years he has been the practical administrator of Chumba on behalf of his elder brother the Rajah. In regard to the "sport," the Viceroy, "as it happened, had none," which is to be regretted, just as he afterwards also was disappointed of his intended *battue* against the Indian lions of Guzerat. A warm admirer of the Viceroy also asks us pathetically in regard to another portion of what we wrote of Lord Curzon spending a twelfth of the year in sport:—"Is Lord Curzon to be the only Viceroy never to spend three weeks on a shoot?" We say decidedly "yes; neither to spend so much time in mere long journies." It is our regard for him, and the demands of the country and its good, as outlined in his famous "twelve or fifteen" Articles of his Creed—that lead us to say so. He is comparatively young, and can "spend and be spent," following the high Apostolic practice, and that of other Viceroys, for India. We and some of our *collaborateurs* are nearly double his age, and we work ourselves to death without a single "shoot" to enliven us, or holiday occurring save the blessed and God-given *rest* of the Sabbath—two months—a sixth of

the whole year's—of a day's rest recurring every week. Surely what is good enough for us who are physically best described as with "one foot in the grave," and good enough for humbler workers, ought to be good enough for the Chief Ruler of the land, whose example herein is of the greatest influence. No, Lord Curzon must have no "shoots" or long jungle "marches." Has the writer of this pathetic expostulation any idea how the junior members of the Civil Service throughout the country are worked to death, worse than very slaves? If he had, he would not have written to us as he has done for the Viceroy. The good Commander-in-Chief shares in the lot of the meanest soldier in the camp.

EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC.—While Mr. Carnegie is conveying millions to the Scotch Universities, our late Viceroy, Lord Elgin, K.G., being the Chairman of the Trustees, among whom are Mr. Morley and Lord Kelvin; and the University of Edinburgh, the Principal of which is our old friend Sir William Muir, is honoring Mr. C. A. Cooper, the Editor of the *Scotsman* by the grant of the LL.D. degree; we here in India seem to be almost in the throes of important educational changes. Considering how the whole system is a perverted one—one only fitted to turn out second-rate clerks instead of thoroughly educating the country—we refer to the secondary and so-called Higher Education—it would take too much of our space here for us to set forth even the barest outline of the needed form. At the same time, from other points of view of special features and not affecting the root of the matter, we have Dr. Welldon and others proclaiming at home what they think proper, the Hon'ble Rev. Dr. Miller putting forth here various views of his own regarding "Educational Problems," resolutions in the Calcutta University regarding B.A. and other examinations, Sir A. Mc Donnell in Allahabad trying to make things there worse instead of better by proposing to shorten the period for "B.A." (!), and *inter alia* Professor Ramsay setting forth "The Functions of a University," and Professor Geddes writing a long rhodomontade—with, however, a solid germ of the truth—in which, among other things, we are informed that he is a believer in the extremest and most absurd form of evolution—one contradicted by science itself! We have no space at present to examine all these, but reserve them for our next. We are also promised a paper on the subject by a competent authority, which we may receive in time for insertion in our next.

An Educational Conference among a number of "experts" is just about to be held in Simla, it is believed to deal with the question of extending Primary Education. The Conference, however, may express views on other educational

matters, and hence too the propriety of reserving our own remarks at present. Among minor matters here, an Agricultural College is soon to be established at Cawnpore, so that Indian Natives will not have to go all the way to Cirencester at home. The Cotton College has been formally opened in Gauhati for Assam. Hostels or boarding-houses for students have been opened in Allahabad, following the example set by the S. P. G. in Calcutta—(Calcutta itself crying out to *Government* for such—why cannot they establish their own hostels?). The Trustees of the Doveton Institutions in Calcutta have obtained power to raise Rs. 70,000 to pay off a mortgagee and to meet other expenses. It seems that the Administrator-General of Bengal retains certain property in his hands to the detriment of the Institutions. The whole of the Doveton case is peculiar, and on account of its importance should be met by Government—which so largely supports other Hindu and Mahommedan Colleges—in a liberal spirit; and the Trustees themselves might ask Government to do so. We are but imperfectly informed of the ins and outs, but consider the above suggestion would suit any view regarding it. At all events, we shall be glad to see it out of monetary difficulties and set on the same stable foundations as the Martinière. Finally, in the Poona College of Science, which has done so much good work for Western India, in consequence of the large increase in the number of students in the engineering branch since the year 1898-99, it became necessary to limit the admissions in 1901 to 40, and to select those to be admitted by a competitive examination. Neither the accommodation in the College nor the teaching staff is calculated to admit of an indefinite extension of the numbers attending, and the restriction, was absolutely necessary to provide for the efficient working of the institution, which is maintained primarily for the supply of candidates for Government service in the Public Works Department. It is open to private enterprise to provide instruction in engineering for those who desire it and whom it is impossible to accommodate in the Government College.

IN LITERARY matters, and taking journalistic literature first, we note that of the better class of native journals the *Hindu* of Madras is going to be placed on a sound financial basis—it having, alas! no "contract" system to enrich it—by its connexion into a Limited Company. "Improvements," too, are contemplated. We wish it every success. We have referred to the "contract" system—this was the usual way in old times of subsidising newspapers in the interests of Government, both Local and Imperial. To give only one instance out of any number that we remember, one

of our old friends was paid Rs. 300 a month for writing up once a quarter a few lines of the "annals" for the Supreme Government. Remains of the old system, variously covered and disguised, may perhaps yet be found of a few we know. We except from our observations the *Indian Daily News* which is owned by the richest proprietory of any in India, and has long been taking a pronounced lead in journalism in India with its early important Home information; and also the very popular *Statesman*, which has the largest circulation in the Empire. But we would recommend the excellent *Indian Daily Telegraph* for a subsidy. A Tamil Church paper is about to be started by Church authorities. The paper is to be edited by a Committee of four clergymen, one of whom shall be Editor-in-Chief. We once had the Editorship of a Church paper—not in India—in which we had a Committee of eight clergymen, including the Dean and the Archdeacon, to assist us, found ourselves virtually the sole and one Dictator and Referee whenever any difficult matter cropped up; at other times and on all ordinary matters the "Committee" did the most part of the work. The case of the native paper alluded to in our last as having as alleged defamed a European has not ended with the apology that was tendered. And as other *Bengalee* papers repeated the asserted libel, there are several actions now pending. The complainant is a Mr. Hoff. The Hoffs were once respectable people in Calcutta in days when there was not a single Bengali journal in existence. We believe Mr. Hoff is right in proceeding to law. The alleged libel was of a kind that might have prejudiced another case he had in Court at the time, which he fortunately won. Our old friend, Sir Charles Lawson, writing in his Madras journal, says that once on a time there were seven newspapers in Madras, namely, the *Madras Herald*, the *Madras Gazette and Examiner*, the *Madras Courier*, the *Conservative*, the *Madras Circulator*, the *Spectator*, and the *United Service Gazette*; as well as the bi-monthly *Thursday Budget* and the monthly *Madras Roman Catholic Expositor*. We can also recall a good many in Calcutta and generally in Upper India—there were three at one time in Lucknow alone!

We may fitly conclude this rambling note of old days by the following extracts from letters just received by us from old friends of the *Calcutta Review* who were both of them very prominent in Upper India, and both of whom made a name for themselves during the Mutiny and are, we believe, authors of some of the "Rulers of India" series and other noted works:—The first says:—"It (the *Calcutta Review*) is associated in men's minds with very great times, when Hardinge was beating the Sikhs, and Sleeman taming

the Thugs [we used to see some of his captures—they were a queer-looking lot—with very Kali-like countenances]; and Lawrence, Kaye, etc., were among the contributors." The other writes:—"I am now '*well* stricken in years' . . . . past my time, and unable to supply suitable articles for the *Calcutta Review*. I have always thought, and see no reason for altering my opinion, that the *Calcutta Review* contains more original information than any other of its kind known to me. Had I been younger, I might have tried. For many years I have taken a great interest in it—even from days when it numbered such amateurs as supporters as Sir Henry Elliott and Henry Torrens." We need hardly say that we can yet boast of not a few leading men both here and at Home being among our most prominent supporters and contributors. Our younger men in the service, however, are not so bold in coming forward as they should be though we have a few. Our present Viceroy is happily "one of the old sort," and looks for merit wherever he can find it, even if discoverable in the pages of this *Review*. In concluding about "ourselves," we may just also quote a few lines received from Home from the author of the excellent summary of Herbert Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy our last:—"I have no complaint whatever to make of the *notes* which you have appended to the article. On the contrary, my only regret is that you did not find it possible to develop your views at greater length. No one pretends that Spencer has said the last word on the questions at issue between religion and science."

A nobleman of Japan has brought Professor Max Müller's Library for the Tokio University—what a chance lost for India! And while no steps are being taken to get up some sort of Memorial for him either here or at home, a very large and influential Committee are moving for one to Miss Charlotte Yonge whose decease and good work we referred to in our last. The subject for the Gold Medal of the United Service Institution for next year is, "the training and equipment of Cavalry and Mounted Infantry in India and their respective rôles in War." The Metcalfe Hall has now been completely turned over to Government for the Imperial Library, the Agri-Horticultural Society giving up the lower floor for Rs. 25,000 in cash, and a perpetual annuity of Rs. 6,000 unfettered by any conditions—an enormous price to pay for another of the present Viceroy's fads. A question having been raised about the Hundred Best Books on India, while we have noticed the veriest trash mentioned some of the most essential, to which one would first turn for information on any important subject, are omitted. The general knowledge of India is evidently on a par with the knowledge of the books relating to India.

Colonel Quentin, Secretary to the Board of Examiners, Calcutta, is bringing out an English translation, with notes, of that ancient "black classic" the Bâgh-ô-Bâhâr. A History of India during the eighteenth century in Persian, translated into English by a Frenchman, and published in 1789, dedicated to Warren Hastings, is shortly to be reprinted and brought out by a Calcutta publisher under the patronage of Government. The Rev. P. Holler, B. D., a Member of the German Oriental Society, and a Missionary attached to the German Mission in the Godavery District, has written a Student's Manual of Indian Vedic-Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali Literature, containing lists of commentaries, text-editions, translations and expositions of the books, a chronicle of Indian authors and useful appendices. In a short preface the author says that his aim in writing this work has been to give in a nut-shell as much information about Indian Sanskrit Literature as possible, and to arrange the material according to chronology. The book gives a brief but excellent description of every branch of this ancient system of literature and is replete with facts and suggestions, which, if elaborated and expanded, will supply matter for many volumes. Over a thousand Indian Sanskrit works have been described or systematically enumerated, not counting the several recensions or commentaries. No work of real importance has escaped the author's observation. An undoubtedly good work has been disfigured by bad printing and typographical and idiomatic errors.

Dr. Stein, whose explorations in Central Asia we formerly noticed, has evidently finished his work for the present, and has gone home by the Central Asian Railway. Some colossal Buddhas have been excavated. Surgeon-Colonel Waddell's explorations in and near Patna are about to be published; and Dr. Stein writing about them says, that his own former researches there confirm the opinion advanced by Dr. Waddell as to the remains of the old Capital being preserved deep down in the alluvial south of the old river bed known as Gunsar. But there is a lot of Art and Archæology not only in Behar, but in other little suspected parts of India now in deep tiger jungle, as well as in South India, Asia Minor, and Cyprus. We may have some notices of some of these in our pages in future numbers, two very interesting papers, as connected with the Alphabets being already in our hands, one of which, however, it will be impossible for us to produce early, as it involves much special alphabetical diagram work on lithographing stone, costing too an enormous expense which, in our opinion, is better incurred by some patron of Sanskrit Literature than by a *Review* such as ours. Out of the twelve known tribes of Andamanese, the numbers remaining are estimated at a total

of only 844 men, 717 women, 192 boys, 129 girls, or 1,882 souls, 1,257 of whom belong to the fierce Jarawa and Ouge tribes who will have no dealings with either Europeans or friendly aborigines Twenty years ago the lowest estimate was 3,000; so that these interesting remains of a pre-historic Oceanic, and perhaps inland race, will probably come to an end during this century. With reference to the Ethnographic Survey of India mentioned in our last, the London *Spectator* takes to the queer speculating of measuring the *minds* of the various races! The *Spectator* is always funny. Several shocks of earthquake have recently been felt at Shillong, Darjeeling and even distant Simla. There has, however, been one of the usual violent eruptions in Java, which is connected in the circle one extremity of which ends in the Head of the Bay of Bengal. The volcanic region of this portion of India would furnish a more practical and useful field for scientific examination than measuring the bodies of the tribes of India male and female.

Surgeon-Major Alcock, Superintendent of the Indian Museum, and author of a variety of zoological memoirs and papers has been selected for the honor of F. R. S., and Dr. George Watt, Reporter on Economic Products, has been awarded the Hanbury Gold Medal for Research. He is the third Englishman who has been recipient of this medal. We have a deal more to say about Anti-venine, Geology and Mineralogy, Indigo, Sugar (especially in connection with Mr. Minchin's efforts), the Kasauli Institute, the Malaria Commission, and even Linguistic matters, which we are compelled to hold over for the present. In fact, were we to do justice at length, and at once to only our Scientific and Literary matter in hand, we should have to give up this whole number of the *Review* to them alone.

THE BISHOPS AND RELIGION, &c.

[Here we come, we regret, on troublesome, matter.]

The good Metropolitan has thrown off his fever at home, and seems to have been quite busy with tackling the Secretary of State to allow him to be called an "Archbishop," writing to the *Times* on Indian educational matters, and delivering addresses. In regard to his wish to be called an "Archbishop" we should think the proper authority should be the Archbishop of Canterbury—the chief ecclesiastical authority, for the matter is wholly ecclesiastical. His views on Indian educational reform, as stated before, we hold over. In regard to his address at Magdalen College, Oxford, an imperfect summary reached India, and forthwith,—a certain paper as usual leading the way in attacks on the Bishop—the Indian press both misunderstood him, and also distorted his words. Forthwith, however, Sir A. McDonnell—alone of all the Governors and Administrators of India!—saw his opportunity of making

some mark (it has proved to be one against himself), and proclaimed himself better, wiser and abler than Dr. Welldon by publicly declaiming against him! We consider the conduct of the press, as well his conduct, to be, to say the least, extremely wanting in good sense and modesty. As for one paper comparing the Bishop to an "awkward squad," it is what one would expect to find only in Reynolds' papers. The Indian Journal we refer to has now made itself notorious for the most inexcusable attacks on the Bishop—attacks which were begun even before he landed in India—and we have no hesitation in saying that while the Bishop remains where he stood before, a giant in intellect, good and liberal-minded, simple in character, kind-hearted, and a devout and devoted Christian Bishop, the paper attacking him has considerably sunk in public estimation and influence. Even the Native Pastor of the Brahmo body of Hindus has displayed more kindly feelings, and a truer appreciation of the Bishop and his words, shaming so-called Christians and "leaders" of Anglo-Indian public opinion. Let us hope we shall have no more of these public displays of what appears very like personal attacks. The Bishop wrote at once to the *Times*, and, of course, completely cleared himself, and that with mildness and dignity consistent with his position, contrasting herein with the McDonnell bombast.

According to the *Indian Daily News*, which now leads in Home information as well as other respects, the Bishop has signified his intention to return to India by the first steamer after the middle of October, and we are sure both the Viceroy and India will be glad to welcome him back again. The good Bishop of Bombay is also at home, but his line does not lie in public and semi-political speeches, and we could only wish that the entire Clergy of India followed out what he said in his last charge in Bombay regarding daily services and which we noticed at the time. The Bishop of Madras's misapprehension as to the Metropolitan recommending an immediate introduction of the Bible in Government schools—an attack here, too, on Dr. Welldon was initiated by the same journal previously referred to—has been already referred to by us. Instead of occupying himself in excellently elaborated lectures—semi-political—and which are confuted as soon as delivered by Hindu "Chairmen," were the Bishop to occupy himself in enquiring into the serious and numerous disabilities suffered by Native Christians in parts of his large diocese—disabilities which Lord Curzon refused to consider or passed by with a light and happy heart—he, the Bishop of Madras, would certainly add to his influence, preserve his dignity, and be doing much good. It will hardly be imagined, or credited at home, that natives in various portions of the southern

diocese are deprived of their civil rights on becoming Christians! It is hardly worse in dark fanatical Mahommedan Persia, where a Christian is simply an outlaw. The Bishop of Madras, even as we predicted in our last, will not have a Christian man marry his deceased wife's sister. The Bishop is sound in ecclesiastical argument, but *weak in fact*, and there is no Pope here to grant "dispensations" and reconcile logic with fact. Surely we ought to have some common sense in this "very urgent" matter, and see how Dissenting Churches reconcile the two. The Bishop of London is moving to have a "College of Clergy" in Madras. He says:—"Just as there is an Oxford Mission to Calcutta, a Cambridge Mission to Delhi, and a Dublin Mission to Chota-Nagpur, so there will now be, I hope, a London Mission to Madras." His plan of "considering their work in Madras as done in the Diocese of London" is not a good one. Rules for monuments in cemeteries—Mr. Cotton, I.C.S. of Madras, is doing good work in connection with old monuments in the Southern Presidency—are published for all India except the Madras Presidency. The first step is to send an application, on Form A, which contains a variety of questions, with a "dimensionized drawing of the monument drawn to scale and detailed estimate" to the Chaplain in charge of the cemetery. The Chaplain is then to forward the application to the Executive Engineer, who will fill in column 7—technical details—examine and countersign the drawing and return everything to the Chaplain. The application is then to be forwarded to the Archdeacon, with whom rests the final decision on the matter. What endless trouble!

We may now turn to some broader questions. Our remarks in our last issue regarding the perversion of Evangelising Missions into educational agencies has been held to apply also to the Scotch Missions in India. Some color was lent to this view by the attacks made by Mr. Varley, the Evangelist, at home in Scotland. Our words, however, had no application to the great Scotch Colleges in India. These are, from inception, education al missions, and there is no misunderstanding about them or their work. We refer only to purely Evangelising Missions which have turned themselves aside to educating a parcel of non-descript Hindu clerks instead of proclaiming the Love of the Saviour to a fallen world. The Hon'ble Rev. Dr. Miller in turn attacked Mr. Varley, and it stands a "pretty quarrel" between the two. Excluding the Scotch Colleges, let us say that if St. Peter or St. Paul had been an educationist, there would have been no Christianity at the present day (not even the Scotch Colleges!).

There has been a large meeting in Calcutta of the Lord's

Day Union in connection with the observance of the Sunday. It will be remembered that we draw attention to this matter in a previous number when referring to Bishop Welldon's instructions to the Clergy regarding it. The Rev. Mr. Bowman presided, and the annual report stated that everywhere there was activity to carry through this great ordinance for humanity—not less than mark of Christianity, all over India. The Rev. Mr. North gave an excellent address, dwelling particularly on its happy influence on home-life, and also, "if men were put to a prolonged strain, their powers for work were lessened." Let us add, that enlightened Hindus themselves in Calcutta and the other larger cities, are glad to have the Sunday's rest; that we are honoured by the heathen for observing the Day; and that the Government of India in the P. W. D. are everywhere the almost sole transgressors of the Divine Law. Unless where absolutely necessary, no work should be permitted, and even "contracts"—the ordinary excuse of irresponsible engineer officers—might easily be regulated. Many previous Viceroys have, in this matter, either spoken, or shown a good example, and we trust our present excellent Viceroy will do both It will be a great boon, to India, without any reference to "Christianity" in it. Among the office-bearers o the Union for the current year we find the names of Bishop Clifford of Lucknow as President; and Bishops Thoburn and Warne, Rev. Drs. Husband (C.I E.), Ewing, Humphreys, Lucas, Mansel, Roberts, Scudder, Robinson, and a host of other influential men all over India as vice-presidents. They might well unite in a Memorial to the Viceroy—headed by Dr. Welldon on his return—to stop the unnecessary work in the P. W. D., avoiding all debateable questions relating to travelling, etc.

We ought not to conclude this portion of our notes without a reference to an interesting controversy lately carried on in the correspondence columns of a journal about the cost and results of Missionary work in India. Our opinion is that neither of them can (or ought to) be estimated mathematically accurately; and our one advice is to close all the colleges and schools—save such as may be necessary for the Christian converts—and take to preaching the pure and simple Love of God in Christ and mixing more freely among the natives both high and low. Without these nothing will be done Many high and leading Hindu gentlemen owe much—specially their command of English—to the Bible, and it is pleasant to find in this connection that the late deceased and eminent Mr. Justice Ranade of Bombay was a diligent student of the Sacred Book, and that Mr. Justice Chandavakur is now the same—both head and shoulders over their compeers in Bombay, an un-

usually enlightened Presidency, as stated by the *Rost Goftar*, a leading non-Christian Native journal.

In a review of Missionary work in Travancore and Cochin by the local Bishop we learn that the agents number 567. The baptized number 35,910; and "total adherents" 41,887. There are Zenana Missions, and Primary as well as High Schools and a College. There are also three Malayalin Magazines. The income locally raised is Rs. 20,715. And yet the Christians in these States are denied ordinary civil rights. There are, of course, difficulties in the way peculiar to Travancore, but the matter should be thoroughly sifted by a joint-Committee of Missionaries and of State Brahmins, and some sort of *viâ media* found—one of which is, the Brahmin-converts should be excluded from any relaxing law, thus not interfering with their rights. We have much to say about Hindu Revivalism which we reserve for the present.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Mr. Pennell has carried his case before the Secretary of State, and there is little doubt that the foolish and ill-ballanced man will be retired. To expect the High Court to acknowledge its grave injustice done to him, or even to apologize to Sir John Woodburn for having led him wrong—as we recommended in our last—would be to believe the millenium was in existence. With reference to our previous remarks on the Boer War, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Bryce, M.P.—the one man at home who personally knows South Africa, on which he has written an excellent volume—writes to us from the House of Commons:—"It is quite true that the policy which brought about the South African War has been a mistaken one, and the war itself has been an unmixed calamity for South Africa"—we may add, also for England's homes and also England's power and influence in China and the East, and also for all the different races in South Africa. It is a pity there is no Burke with his eloquence to impeach Mr. Chamberlain in the House*—Mr. David Yule has delivered a very able and thoughtful speech at the late annual meeting of the Calcutta Bank which should be studied by Government, Banking men, and merchants. During the last decade, the annual total of emigrants from India has risen from 152,196 to 386,430, and of immigrants from 162,665 to 210,226 That means that for such a populated empire, emigration is practically non-existent. There will be more hope of India when instead of a miserable 150,000, the number of emigrants stands at a few millions annually. There is much of Central Africa vacant, and the northern half of Australia, where white men cannot labour in

* We have received also a letter from Mr. T. M. Maclean, which we hope to print in our next

the open, to draft them to. The reduction of the Indian tariff for English telegrams is in sight, and will be from 4*s.*, the present rate, to 2*s.* 6*d.* a word. Mr. Havell, of the School of Arts, Calcutta, shows that the Fly-shuttle in hand-loom weaving can immensely help native weavers. We confess to being ignorant of the Fly-shuttle referred to, but we know that something of the kind, which used literally to "fly" along," was in use in olden times in the Dacca of Dr. Taylor's valuable *Topography;* and a Jail Superintendent of Madras comes to say that the fly-shuttle is superior only in the hands of an active worker, while the common shuttle well-worked almost approaches the Fly-shuttle. At the same time, there are many mechanical appliances and contrivances which would immensely increase the industrial wealth and produce of India which Government ought to introduce. Experiments to grow Egyptian cotton in the Central Provinces are stated to be proving more successful than in the Bombay Experimental Farms. Mr. Minchin's efforts on behalf of sugar, and the matter of the indigo question we hold over. Kashmir is going to supply wines and spirits to India. We remember how an effort, some thirty years ago, to place *Jamun* fruit wines and spirits on the Indian market, by the Rev. Mr. Varnier, an Italian (Protestant) clergyman failed, though the produce was declared excellent by doctors and was also cheap. A great industry might yet be created from this Jamun fruit, which is so plentiful all over the country, if the product is kept pure. Locusts have appeared all over India, doing, however, little damage. The Railway Administration Report shows a net profit to the State, after meeting working expenses and interest charges, of Rs. 67 lakhs in the twelve months, compared with a loss of Rs. 12 lakhs in 1899 and of Rs. 78 lakhs in 1898. This is coincident with a net increase of 3,619 miles of open line in these three years. The Railway Conference met at Simla, and only argued about lines to meet the increasing Bengal Coal Traffic. Not one of the many substantial grievances suffered by a hundred millions of passengers was taken up. We have to reserve again the list furnished to us for want of space "Soldiers' Homes" are the order of the day in India, and a nameless donor has placed Rs. 10,000 for one in Peshawar at the disposal of the Bishop of Lahore. One was tried in Jubbulpore by Dr. Cullen, and Rs. 10,000 was spent on it, and it proved a failure. The indefatigable Rev. A. H. B. Brittain, a Chaplain, is now trying to raise Rs. 50,000 for two "Homes" in Secunderabad, and scouring all India for the money. We are afraid that under him, even with the Bishop of Madras's countenance, the whole thing will be a failure. The right way of going about it is not to have too much of

"bell, book and candle" to frighten the very life or devil out of poor Tommy Atkins. The one at Cawnpore, however,—due to the liberality of Dr. Condon,—has been pretty nigh successful,—but it is under American Methodist guidance. The Bengal Anglo-Indian Association has appealed (!) to Mr. Andrew Carnegie for Rs. 2,60,000 for an education, a newspaper, and a Delegation to London Fund—two lakhs, half a lakh, and 10,000 respectively. The sum, some £20,000, may be a trifle to Mr. Carnegie who only deals in millions; but no decent paper can be started on half a lakh. And why the Delegation? Is there not our kind and sympathetic Viceroy here? We think also that the present press of Calcutta is amply sufficient for all true needs, and no further merely class newspaper is necessary, or will ever succeed. The Educational part is all right; but with a little self-help, Government would doubtless assist here with a grant-in-aid.—Barmaids under forty years of age have been prohibited in Hungary (in Europe) in Burmah, and now in Calcutta, and not before it was time. India deteriorates dreadfully in such matters from the home standard, and it is useless for one or two papers to cast obloquy on Sir John Woodburn for such a truly-needed and benevolent measure. Sir John Woodburn will always stand high above his detractors. Even in Australia the prohibition of employing young women about public bars has been legislated for and carried.—The Indian Congress is in a bad way, and proposes actually to sit in London next year—we suppose as a means of "raising the wind," or liquidating the heavy balance of Rs. 3,75,000. Where has all this money gone to? Plague, as usual, now increases, and now diminishes. Meanwhile, it is getting a hold all over the world. What the end will be who will say? In regard to it, Dr. Deane, the Calcutta Health Officer, makes most extraordinary assertions. A certain class of Bengal Zemindars have broke away from the old-and-time-honored British Indian Association and formed an Association for themselves. We are afraid they will make nothing by the move. At all events they wont discredit the old and time-honored Association, which is a power in the country and which has so often stood in the breach. The very idea of separation ought to be disgraceful. It is certainly ungrateful. A number of other subjects we hold over.

We include in our Obituary the following:—

Right Hon. W. B. Beach ("Father" of the House of Commons); Admiral Sir Anthony Hoskins; Ex-Chancellor Prince Hohenlobe; Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham; Prince Henry, of Orleans; Baron Nordenskiöld (the Arctic Explorer); Signor Crispi; Sir Walter Besant; Robert Buchanan; Rev Dr. E. B. Underhill (whom we knew in India half-a-century

ago); Bishop Parker, (Epis. Methodist, North India); Dr. E. J. Lazarus, M.D. (the founder of many valuable Indian patent medicines, and whom we knew sixty years ago when he first came out to Bengal); Professor Tait (of Edinburgh); Arnot Reid (Editor and Proprietor of the *Straits Times*, a dear personal friend); Archbishop Goethals, of Calcutta.

☞ *Special articles to appear in our next number :—*

The Story of the Alphabets.
On our Bengal Lieutenant-Governors by C. E. B.
Hindu Festivals in the Maharashtra.
In the Magaliesburg.
Bishop Berkeley's Philosophy.
The Senoussis or the Mahommedan Revival in Africa.
Botanical Kew and British Museum.
The Great Nobel Competition.
The Holy City.
The Chamberlain Dictatorship.
Also others under consideration.

THE EDITOR.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Indian Mines Act, 1901, with Introduction and Notes, by W. Graham, Barrister-at-Law, of Lincoln's Inn, Member of the Indian Mining Association. Price one rupee. The *Indian Daily News* Press. Calcutta, 1901.

MR. Graham is a leading and well-known Member of the Bar in Calcutta, and has done well in bringing this handy little volume before the public. It brings together in a connected form the history of the new mining legislation, and offers such information upon the subject as has been gathered from the English law. Mr. Graham points out that the new rules to be formulated under the Act are of more importance than the Act itself, and urges the importance of avoiding the harassment of a growing industry. He also expresses the opinion that "it will probably be the best thing for the Indian coal industry if the new legislation leads to a larger use of mechanical extraction and a large diminution in the number of miners employed." From this point of view he thinks the mildness of the Act and "the elimination of the clauses relating to women and children are to be regretted rather than applauded, because, though inimical to immediate prosperity, the discarded provisions would ultimately have placed the industry on a more spacious and enduring foundation. In this he is doubtless right. The work is well got up at the *Indian Daily News* press, and is sure to command an extensive sale among merchants as well as others interesting in all mining operations throughout India.

Hindustani Idioms, with Vocabulary and Explanatory Notes. By Colonel A. N. Philips. London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner and Co.

THIS book contains over 650 phrases and sentences, illustrating the idiomatic peculiarities (and there are many) in the Hindustani language. The arrangement is admirable. Each page consists of three columns, containing respectively the English phrase, the Hindustani translation, and the natory notes. The Hindustani here given is, of course, the pure form, and not any of the frightful dialects that pass muster for Hindustani in many parts of the country. But this will not be a hindrance to any ordinary Anglo-Indian who can use the book intelligently. For although it is professedly compiled

for use of candidates for the higher standard, it will be of great service also to those who only use the language for the every-day purposes of business or domestic life. The notes, moreover, are admirably clear and concise, adding greatly to the value, in fact constituting a large part of the value of the work. The Vocabulary is full, and accurate, far more copious than is found in other works of this kind with which we are familiar. Colonel Phillips has evidently bestowed great pains on the compilation of these idioms, and will no doubt be heartily thanked by many a weary student of the language in his transition from the very elementary to a more complete acquaintance with Hindustani. Colonel Arthur Noel Phillips spent a life time in India, and was well-known as a Cantonment Magistrate in many parts. The price of the work is only five shillings.

The History of the Ganjam Mallahs in the Madras Presidency. Edited by H. D. Taylor, Esq., I.C.S., Collector and Agent to the Governor. Ganjam.—Government Press, Madras. 1901.

THIS ponderous work, brought out to the orders of the Madras Government, though "Edited" by Mr. Taylor, has been mostly done, as we are informed in the Preface, by Mr. F. A. Coleridge, I.C.S., during a most trying experience of nearly two years in the Malliah county, during which his health failed and he had to take leave home to recover. The work, however, is not only valuable to the Revenue Officer, but to others who wish to form an idea of most interesting peoples hid away in the jungles and mountains to the west of Ganjam where it joins on to the Central Provinces in the wild and desolate tracts of the Great Ahiri Forest. There are numerous tribes included in the Malliah or Hill tracts area under notice, and not one of them has been omitted. In 3,250 square miles there are 40,000 Sourahs, 140,000 Khonds, 25,000 Uriyas, 25,000 Panos, and 12,000 Gonds and others. Khonds, Malliahs, Meriah Sacrifices, Rebellions, Tribal fights, Muttas, Irrigation, "Rajahs," Traditions, Brahmins, Uriyas, Schools, Cultivation, Vaccination, Abkari, etc., etc., all figure by turns in its pages, and we are only surprised that a single young officer—of seven years service—could have gone through it all or should have done so much. Mr. Coleridge, Acting Special Assistant Agent, certainly deserves some marked recognition at the hands of the Government whom he has served so well and at the considerable risk of his life. He is nearly related to the late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, and probably is already marked out for well-deserved promotion. In conclusion, we need hardly say that Mr. Taylor's part of the work in editing the volume,

with additions for the whole district, has been carefully and thoroughly well performed.

The Spoilt Child: A Tale of Hindu Domestic Life, by Peary Chand Mitter (Tek Chand Thakur).. Translated by G. D. Oswell, M.A., Court of Wards, Bengal. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta.

THIS old Bengali favourite Tale, the only work of real genius as a novel depicting actual life, is here presented to us in an English dress by the industry of Mr. Oswell, who, considering the great difficulties he laboured under of rendering the Bengali idioms, and catching the spirit of the work, has done his work remarkably well for an Englishman. As regards the Tale itself, and its author, both are well known in Bengal. The work was the first Bengali novel published, and at the time we noticed it fully. (See *Calcutta Review*, *Vols.* XXXI and XXXII.) Almost a generation has passed, and the Tale still holds its place in the Bengali literary market, and now it appears in also an English dress. The hero of the tale is a good-for-nothing spoilt darling of the family, and his character is drawn very bad—perhaps overdrawn. The father is a weak and yielding old man, such as may probably have been found in the days the tale treats of. Ultimately, after ruining himself, the mad youth reforms after an interview with a Benares sage and saint. The plot is simple, but many things—such as Zemindari work, Court trials, etc.,—are introduced in its course. The author is not above popular prejudices, for he makes a *Mahommedan* the "villain" of the piece, and depicts Indigo Planters as anything but gentlemen. This appears very funny to us, for the Hindus certainly beat the Moslems in cunning; and we, who have associated with Indigo Planters from even beyond the times of Peary Chand Mitter, knew them of old to be both of the best Home Families and extremely kind and benevolent to their thousands of poor dependent Hindu folk. As a matter of fact we know of Planters who were robbed of their all by surrounding Hindu Zemindars. We may, however, let this pass. There is no doubt that Peary effected a revolution in Bengali reading, for the Native Tales of those days were even obscene! It must have considerably influenced the rising generation of "Young Bengal" for good.

We may just add, in conclusion, that Peary has also been a contributor to the pages of the *Calcutta Review*. The Bengali gentlemen of those days had not passed through the "B.A." and "M.A." grind, but their literary culture, helped on by such men as "D. L. R." (Captain David Lester Richardson), Derozio, and George Lewis, was true and extensive. Men,

for instance, like the famous "Dutt family," as well as Michael Modhoo Soodhun (of quite another family of Dutts), strange these were all Christian converts—for literary culture we do not expect again to see in Bengal.

Essays on Islám. By the Rev. E. Sell, B.D., M.R.A.S., S.P.C.K. S.P.C.K. Depôt, Madras: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., London.

THESE essays deal with some aspects of Islám unfamiliar to the general reader, but none the less important. They show strange developments of the stern and simple religion founded by Muhammad and make clear how the eastern mind needed something more human, something closer to itself than the God of the Qurán, who has been well described as 'sterile in his loneliness.' The four first essays on the Mystics of Islám, the Babis, the Religious Orders and the Druses, are more or less connected with this feeling which has found expression in the cult of Ali., That and the Shiah doctrine of the Imámat are the root principles on which these various divergences from the orthodox faith of the Sunnis are based.

The Mystics of Islám are the Súfis and a description, as clear as the subject will allow of, is here given of the esoteric teaching of this mystical sect. It is to be sought for mainly in Persian poetry, especially in such books as the Masnavi of Jelál-ud-dín Rúmi and the Gulshan-i-Ráz. The Persian quotations, given in the footnotes, are well selected and to the point. The English translations might, perhaps, be improved. The whole subject, however, is one very difficult to make clear to any, except oriental scholars; but the student of mysticism will find this essay a valuable contribution to the comparative study of the subject.

The essay on the Babis is mainly historical, though a good summary of Babi dogmas is given. The best authorities have been consulted and the statements may be accepted as accurate. Bábism is a most curious offshoot of the fundamental dogmas of the Shiahs, but this system deduced from them, now forms a sect outside any form of Islám. The Babis have suffered for their beliefs as few people in modern days have done, and persecution has only deepened their convictions and increased their numbers. It is decidedly the most interesting religious movement of the nineteenth century. What its influence will be on Persia remains to be seen. Should the Babis ever attain to political influence, greater freedom and more religious toleration will be the suitable result.

The essay on the Religious Orders deals with the great Islámic revival in North Africa and in the Eastern, the Central

and the Western Súdan. The activity of the Derwish Orders may lead to political complications of a grave nature. We do not know of any account in English which deals with the rise, nature and influence of the Derwishes so fully as this essay does. The subject of the spread of Islám in Africa through their agency is, however, too large a one to deal with in this review, and we propose to have a special article on it in our next number, easily traceable, but still there, between their worship of Hakim and the development of the doctrine of the Imámat, as it was found amongst the Ismailians. The whole subject is one of great interest as an erratic, movement of religious thought, as a religion which grew out of the caprices of a madman.

The status of the Zimmis, or non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim state, is shown by a collection of Fatvas, or legal opinions. The conclusion of the whole matter is thus put by the author "though the law is, probably, nowhere now carried out with such vigour, the state of the Zimmis is in all Muslim lands one of political and social subordination. When Muslim countries were isolated, this did not cause much inconvenience, except to the Zimmis themselves; but now that some, at least, of the Mahommedan countries have entered into the circle of civilised States, the result is that the subject populations are restive under the disabilities imposed on them."

The essay on Islám in China gives a concise account of the past and present conditions of the Muslims there. It is probably news to most persons that there are twenty million Mahommedans in the Chinese Empire.

The essay on the Recensions of the Qurán is not a scholarly account of the way in which the present text of the Qurán was formed and how to ensure its success previous recensions were destroyed. Mr. Sell gives the Arabic text and a translation of a lost Súra which some Shiahs declare the Khalif 'Usmán omitted in his revised edition, the one now in use. The late Mr. Garcin de Tassy was inclined to think it genuine; other critics do not. Mr. Sell states the case and then gives his own views thus:—

"On the whole, the weight of evidence seems to be against the Shiah claim. Ali and his followers were a powerful body during the Khalifato of Usmán; they must have known whatever the Prophet had said about Ali, and it is not easy to believe that they would have allowed such passages to be suppressed."

The origin of the religion of the Druses is, in the fourth article, traced back to the Khalif Hakim. The Shiah community early became divided and sub-divided in many sects. Of these the most important is that of the Ismailians who claimed

that with them alone was the true Imám, or spiritual Pontiff, the successor by divine right of the Khalif Ali. This sect and an allied one, the Batmis, are famous for the esoteric views they held and for the activity with which they propagated them. The fundamental principle was that "revelation came through prophets, but interpretation came only through the Imáms. They were the depositaries of all knowledge, and only from them or their emissaries, could men find the right path or the explanation of the many enigmas of life." The way in which the Ismailian Missionaries worked, the secret instruction given to the initiated, the extraordinary power of the leaders, are all clearly set forth. It is only by understanding all this that we can see how such a monster of cruelty, as Hakim was, ever obtained the influence over men that he did. He came to be regarded as the medium of the last and final manifestation of the Deity. The Druses now worship Hakim and, though they have gone very far away from Islám, yet there is a connection.

The last essay on the Hanifs is a critical examination of an interesting point in the history of Muhammad, *viz.*, whether he was influenced by some men who, in his early days, were already protesting against idolatry, or whether his declaration that he came to restore the religion of Abraham was the result of his stay in Madina and altogether an idea of later growth. The point is of some importance, as the latter view illustrates the historical development of the Qurán. The argument cannot be summarised, but it is well worth study.

It is not possible in a short review to do justice to the wealth of information supplied in these essays. We can only conclude by saying that this work supplies a real need, is invaluable to the student of comparative religion and maintains the reputation of its author as an authority on the subject of Islám, to which, as seen in his other works, the Faith of Islám, and the Historical Development of the Qurán, he has given many years of study.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The works of George Berkeley, D D., Bishop of Cloyne, including Posthumous works, with Prefaces, Annotations, Appendices, and an account of his Life. By Alexander Campbell Fraser, Hon. D. C. L., Oxford, Hon. LL.D. Glasgow and Edinburgh; Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh; in Four Volumes. Price, twenty-four Shillings. Clarendon Press, Oxford; and Frowd, London, 1901.

[This very valuable edition of a great work receives a special and extended notice in an Article in our next number.]

Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors; being a Narrative of the Principal Events and Public measures during their Periods of Office, from 1854 to 1898: by C. E. Buckland, C. I. E., of the Indian Civil Service; in Two Volumes, with 14 illustrations. S. Lahiri and Co., Calcutta. 1901.

[This excellent and useful historical work will receive several special extended notices.]

Asia and Europe: Studies presenting the conclusions formed by the Author in a long life devoted to the subject of the relations between Asia and Europe; by Meredith Tounsend. Archibald Constable & Co., London. 1901.

[Here is our old Serampore friend of fifty years ago with a most acceptable volume which we hope to review at length.

The Prevention of Epidemic Zymotic Diseases in India and the Tropics; by C. Gedfrey Gumpel. Price 1s Watts & Co., Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, 1901.

[Reserved for closer examination.]

The Standardization of Calmette's Anti-Venomous Serum, with pure Cobra Venom, Deterioration of this Serum through keeping in India; by Geo. Lamb, M.B., Captain, I.M.S., and William Hanna, M.A., M. B., R.U.I., D.P.H., Cantab. Research Laboratory, Bombay, 1901.

[The only work of its kind—a reprint from the *Lancet*.]

Khattri Conference Resolutions, and Rajah Bun Behari Kapur's address.

[This is a contribution to a very interesting subject.]

The Madras Museum Bulletin. Vol III. No. 3,. Anthropology. Nayars of Malabar, with 11 Plates; by F. Fawcett. Price 1 Re. 8 As, Government Press, Madras, 1901.

[This is an account of an interesting tribe of Malabar, on which subject probably several papers may be found scattered through the *Calcutta Review*, one on the "Serpent-Worship" practised appearing in this very number.]

Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient. Revue Philologique. F. H. Schneider, Impremeur—Editeur, Hanoi.

The Indian Review. No 7, for July, Madras. 1901.

The Indian Magazine for August. Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1901.

Luzac's Oriental Lists, for May, June, &c., London. 1901.
[Full of useful information to Orientalists.]

The Monist, for July. Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1901.

Report of the Lunatic Asylums in the N.-W. P. and Oudh, for 1900.

Report of the Jails in the Punjab, for 1900.

Report of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for 1900.

Report of Police Administration, Punjab. 1900.

Report of Punjab Court of Wards, for 1900.

Memorial of Bombay Native Inhabitants to the Governor of Bombay, with Appendices.

Report on Dispensaries, etc., in the Punjab, for 1900.

Report of the Lahore Anglo-Vedic College, for 1900-'01.

[We learn that the College has 400 pupils—with a balance in hand of *four lakhs*, and yet they are crying out "give, give" for a building! Their motto is "Sacrifice is the navel of the world"—which sort?]

Sudha—a monthly Review in Bengali, head office, Murshidabad.
[This has just been started.]

Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India. No. 12, for the month of March 1901, and for the twelve months, 1st April to 31st March 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1898-99 and 1899-1900 Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India. Nos. 1 to 4, for the month of July 1901, and for the four months, 1st April to 31st July 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1899 and 1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries. Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12, for the twelve months, 1st April 1900 to 31st March 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1898-99 and 1899-1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries. Nos. 1 and 2, for the two months, April and May 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1899 and 1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Review of the Trade of India in 1900-1901. By J. E. O'Conor, C.I.E., Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India. Calcutta. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Annual Report on the Reformatory Schools at Alipore and Hazaribagh, for the year 1900. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Report on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to the British and Foreign Colonies, 1900. By C. Banks, Esq., C.M., D.P.H., Protector of Emigrants, Calcutta. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1601.

Annual Report of the Bengal Veterinary College, and of the Civil Veterinary Department, Bengal, for the year 1900-1901. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Annual Report on Inland Emigration for the year 1900. By C. Banks, Esq., M.D., C.M., D.P.H., Superintendent of Emigration, Calcutta. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Report on the Administration of the Police of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 31st December 1900. By R. H. Brereton, Esq., I.C.S, Inspector-General of Police, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh. Allahabad: The Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh. 1901.

Notes on the Administration of the Registration Department in Bengal, for 1900-1901. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Progress Report of Forest Administration in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for the year 1899-1900. By A. F. Wild, Conservator of Forests, Bengal. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1900.

Report on the Administration of the Police of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 31st December 1900. By R. H. Brereton, Esq., I.C.S., Inspector-General of Police, North-Western Provinces and Oudh. North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1901.

Thirty-third Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal. Year 1900. By Major H. J. Dyson, I.M.S., F.R.C.S., Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Administration Report on the Jails of Bengal for the year 1900. By Lieutenant-Colonel E. Mair, Inspector-General of Jails, Bengal. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

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1.—GENERAL LITERATURE :—

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2.—The Chutney Lyrics.—A collection of comic pieces in verse on Indian subjects. Second edition (reprint). Price, Re. 1. Higginbotham & Co., Madras and Bangalore ... ... *ib.*

3.—The Journal of Mrs. Fenton, Narrative of her Life in India, the Isle of France (Mauritius) and Tasmania during the years 1826-1830, with a preface by Sir Henry W. Lawrence, Bart. London : Edward Arnold, Publisher to the India Office. 1901 x

4.—1. Common Salt ; its Use and Necessity for the Maintenance of Health and the Prevention of Disease. By C Godfrey Gümpel. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., Paternoster Square. 1888. Price, five shillings ... xii

5.—2. On the Natural Immunity against Cholera, and the Prevention of this and other Allied Diseases by simple Physiological means. By C. Godfrey Gümpel. London and Edinburgh : Williams and Norgate ... ... *ib.*

6.—3. The Prevention of Epidemic Zymotic Diseases in India and the Tropics Generally. By C. Godfrey Gumpel. London : Watts & Co., 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E. C. 1901 ... ... *ib.*

7.—4. The Plague in India, an Impeachment and an Appeal. By C. Godrey Gumpel. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Calcutta and Bombay : Thacker, Spink and Co. 1899 ... *ib.*

8.—1. The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad. Part I. A. D. 1412 to 1520. With 112 Photographic and Lithographic Plates, by Jas. Burgess, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., &c., &c., &c., late Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India. London : William Greggs & Sons ; Bernard Quaritch ; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co ; Luzac & Co. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. Bombay : Thacker & Co. 1900. Price, 31 shillings 6 pence ... xiv

9.—2. The Jain Stûpa and other Antiquities of Mathura, by Vincent A. Smith, I.C.S., Fellow of the Allahabad University. Allahabad : Government Press. 1901. Price, Rs. 14-8 (£ 1, 2s.) ... ... *ib.*

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THE

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No. 226—OCTOBER 1901.

ART. I.—THE STORY OF THE ALPHABET.*

THIS little book of 217 duodecimo pages has appeared at the end of the Nineteenth Century most opportunely. What a contrast a book on the same subject published at the end of the Eighteenth Century would have presented! Every child is supposed to "know his Alphabet, or his A. B. C.," and popular opinion would credit Noah with such a knowledge; but it must be admitted by careful students, that Moses did not know his Alphabet,† or even Solomon,† and whatever books are credited to them must have been handed down orally, or in a pre-alphabetic form of script,† "Pictorial, or Ideographic, or Syllabic," not in separate abstract symbols or letters for each vowel or consonant-sound, which constitute an Alphabet.

Mr. Clodd is well known from his previous works, and his present volume is charming, whether to young students, or old hands. Words in Hieroglyphic Ideograms, such as the Egyptian, are eye-pictures, and have no relation to sound in their structure. Words in Alphabetic Symbols are Ear-pictures, and are built up with reference to the sound, which each symbol is fashioned to represent. The invention of Writing in any form alone made it possible to pass from Barbarism to Civilization. The final supercession of all other forms of writing by the Alphabet marks an Epoch in the History of Mankind. It is notorious, that the ordinary Numerals used throughout Europe speak to the eye only, and each Nation describes them in his own Language, as the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., represent an arithmetical idea, and are not symbols for a letter. In China to this day the form of writing of the Chinese Wen-Li is for 'oculation' only, and not for pronunciation, and the reader of a book in that form

* The Story of the Alphabet. By Edward Clodd (London: Newnes, 1900.)

† [An emphatic "No" to all these assertions, and we are prepared to prove it.—ED., *C. R.*]

of Script pronounces aloud the idea gathered from the Pictorial Character in his own national speech.

Our author traces the art of communicating ideas by Pictorial signs to the Stone Age. Rude etchings of men brandishing spears at wild horses, or other wild animals, are in evidence on rocks. In some cases curious graphic signs are found suggestive of Primitive Pictographs, and the "Pictograph is the Parent of the Alphabet." Specimens have been found in Australia, and among the Bushmen in South Africa, and America. In these lie the germs, whence Alphabets have sprung.*

The Sound-Signs of our Alphabet are about 2,500 years† old, but at present our attention is called to the primitive forms, of which all Alphabets are the lineal descendants, and certain well-marked stages are obvious: (*a*) the Mnemonic, or 'memory-aiding' stage when some tangible object is used as a message or a record; (*b*) the Pictorial, speaking to the eye, suggesting the thing; (*c*) the Ideographic, suggesting the name; (*d*) the Phonetic suggesting the sound.

Let me give illustrations.

The Mnemonic Stage is represented by knotted cords, or shell or ornamented belts. This survives in the knot which we to this day tie in our handkerchief to help our memory, and the long-line of the sailor. The author goes into great detail on this subject.

The Pictorial Stage is described by our author at great length and with numerous illustrations. The necessities of Human Life compelled recourse to this method of communication: for instance, we have a letter offering a Treaty of Peace, a Census Roll of an Indian Band, a Biography of an Indian Chief.

The Ideographic Stage indicates an advanced stage in Human Knowledge, and presupposes secrecy. Such pictorial signs do not so much depict, as suggest objects, and presuppose a knowledge of an event or fact, which the symbol recalls. For instance, Religious Symbols would be meaningless to people unfamiliar with the history: the Cross and Crescent mean nothing to the Red Indian. Our author describes the survivals of the Ideographics of the Azteks and the Maya, both still uninterpreted. The famous Hieroglyphic Ideographs of Egypt will be noticed in their own place.

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*[We have been in Bushmen's Caves on the Drakensberg, and seen (and treated) the Rock-Paintings of New Zealand. These were *not* the "germs" of our Alphabet.—ED. *C.R.*]

†[We should say about 3,000 at the very least if not from the time of Moses, who gave the two tables of the Law, and *embodied the Cabbala in the Alphabet of Pentateuch.*—ED., *C.R.*]

The Phonetic Stage. The Mexican Script gives a curious illustration of the change from the Pictographic to the Phonetic State. The name of one of the Kings was Itacoatl or 'Knife-Snake.' In one Manuscript this name is represented by a serpent (*coatl*) and stone knife (*itzli*) on its component parts on the Pictorial Stage system; in a later MS. we find the first syllable of the King's name represented by a weapon armed with blade on the old system, but the latter part, *coatl*, though it means 'snake,' is represented by an earthen pot, *co-mitl*, and above it the sign of water, *ti*, and the word is read according to the sound, not the meaning. This is real phonetic writing, and is of pure Mexican origin. However, before the Mexican written character had further developed itself, it was suppressed by the European Alphabet.

Chapter IV describes briefly three survivals of ancient forms of writing, one or two of which perhaps another Century may place away in the same category as the written character of the Maya and Aztek. I allude to the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean. The first is wholly Monosyllabic; the second is a syllabary, but is rapidly disappearing before the Roman Alphabet. The people of the Korea use the Chinese Character for their official Script, but the lower classes have a phonetic Alphabet, the origin of which is uncertain. It must be recollected, that these three forms of written Character are actually in use at the close of the Nineteenth Century.

Chapter V contains a description of the Cuneiform Script, which has been dead 2,000 years and more, and buried out of the knowledge of the Human Race until the middle of the present Century. It was the vehicle of the Literature of the great Babylonian and Assyrian Nations, who have left monuments in baked clay going back many thousand years. These two powerful nations of the Semitic race inherited this form of Script from elder Nations of a totally different race, who by the chance of fortune have left no undisputed traces of themselves in the written Characters of younger Nations. Some daring Scholars have postulated a connection between the Nations of Mesopotamia and China. In these days of wonderful discoveries it would not be safe to reject such theories but it is wiser to wait. Another Scholar urges the origin of the Phenician Alphabet in the Cuneiform Script. We shall notice this further on. The art of writing Cuneiform can be carried back 8,000 years. [? ED.]

Chapter VI epitomizes the history of the Egyptian Inscriptions, in their three varieties: (1) Hieroglyphic, (2) Hieratic, (3) Demotic. More need not be stated on a subject so familiar. The author thus describes the progress:

Pictogram—Ideogram—Phonogram;

or in other words:

Signs representative of 'Words;' 'Idea;' 'Sound.'

The art of writing Hieroglyphics can be carried back 6,700 years. [? ED.]

Chapter VII gives the account of the Rosetta Stone, the obelisk at Philœ, and the Stele of Canopus, all three of which led to the wonderful revelation of the Literature of Egypt to the Scholars of last Century.

Chapter VIII narrates the first appearance of the Phenician Alphabet, considered up to this period to have been the parent of all the alphabets now existing in the World, and describes in detail the argument in favour of the derivation of this Alphabet from the Hieratic Ideograms of Egypt. The last word has not been spoken on this subject. The date, to which the Phenician Alphabet can with certainty be taken back, and the source from which it was derived, if not a pure invention of the Phenicians, is open to discussion. Its existence can be traced back to the Moabite Stone, about the Ninth Century B.C. This seems to exclude Moses* from the possibility of having made use of an Alphabet, though it is quite possible that he wrote Egyptian Hieroglyphics, or Babylonian Cuneiform, leaving it in doubt when the transfer of his writings from one form of script to another took place. Then, again, there are those, who claim a Semitic origin for the Phenician Alphabet, and not an Egyptian, and would substitute an Assyrian seedplot instead of an Egyptian. There are other possibilities. The Hittite Script is still unrevealed, and in the next chapter we shall read of other possibilities.

Chapter IX reveals them, and they form the real interest of this instructive little volume. But the progress of events is rapid, and even this book published in 1900, is not quite up to the latest Epoch, for at a meeting held last Summer in the rooms of the Society of Archæology to hear Mr. Arthur Evans' latest account of his discoveries in Crete, the writer of this Review placed in his hands Mr. Clodd's little book, and he remarked that the discoveries of the last season, which were that day to be described were not included in the published volume. We must look into the Future, and be ready to appropriate new facts, as they are reported to us, and lend ourselves to a further evolution of Ideas. Nothing is so mischievous, as the habit of advancing to a certain distance in a newly discovered field of science, and then to stop short,

*[Not necessarily. We place the Origin of our Alphabet, (which is, identical with the Hebrew, the Phenician, and the Sanscrit—as we have abundantly proved)—about the time of Moses, in fact to Moses himself, whence the Phenicians elaborated theirs, and whence again the College of Brahmin Pundits elaborated their perfect Sanscrit.—ED., *C.R.*]

shut your eyes, and cry out: "I go no further." The wonderful discoveries of the Past encourage us to examine with rigour, and accept provisionally with caution, new advances. Champollion was no doubt coughed down at first, and Galileo was sent to prison.

"E pur si muove."

There was a *tertium quid*, which escaped the notice of the Egyptologues, and Assyriologues, when from the grandeur of their citadels they looked down upon the puny invention by the Phenicians, as recorded by Herodotus, of an 'Alpha, Beta,' an Alph Beth, an Alphabet, a little squadron of twenty-five symbols, destined to be the vehicles of the Literature of the Greeks and Romans, and all the Nations of Europe and America, and of the Literature of the great Nations of Asia, the Indians, the Persians, the Arabs, the Osmanli Turki, and the Ural Altaic Races. The Egyptologue cried out, "the Alphabet was from us;" the Assyriologue made similar assertions; but in these last days a new vista is opening to us, and Chapter IX denotes it.

The great Civilization of Greece from the time of Pericles onward represents a 'Second birth.' If we use a wider term to express what has hitherto been called the Greek Field, and substitute the term 'Ægean,' we can carry back the period of that Civilization nearly as far as the Egyptian. The late discoveries in Crete reveal the fact of an indigenous* Culture in that Island, and of intercourse with Greece, Egypt, and Syria, at a date anterior* to that of the Phenician commercial expansion. In 1894 Mr. Arthur Evans commenced his explorations in the Eastern portion of Crete, and found stones inscribed, not only with hieroglyphics and pictorial, but also with linear or quasi-alphabetic characters. We suspend any definite judgment, but hold our breath in expectation of further revelations. In some cases the same symbols recur frequently: for instance, in one the human eye recurs four times, the broad arrow seven times, and another symbol eleven times.

Had these objects been painted merely for decoration the engraver would scarcely have been thus trammelled. The conclusion seems to be, that they were grouped for purposes of communication. The symbols are of two kinds, Pictorial and Linear. There are eighty-two of the former, and thirty-eight of the latter. The Pictorial specimens are found only in Crete; examples of the linear Character have been found at Mykénœ, Nauplea, and other prehistoric sites in Greece and Egypt, and some have marked affinity with Cypriote, Hittite, and Semitic. The Hittites were at one period a Nation of great power, able to wage war on terms of equality with

* *Query.*—ED., *C.R.*

Egypt, and known by them under the name of 'Khita,' and it is to be regretted that the Anglicized term 'Hitt-ite' has obtained currency. The written Character of their Inscriptions is well known, but no interpretation has as yet been successful. They were highly advanced in certain departments of Art, as evidenced by the memorials of their handywork, which have survived."

Returning to the subject of the discoveries at Crete, our author is of opinion, that the history of 'Man' in the Eastern Mediterranean, or the Ægean sea, has, under the new light, thrown upon it by the discoveries of Schlieman at Troy and Mykénœ, on the West Coast of Asia, and in Crete, to be rewritten. The theory* is hazarded, that there existed a pre-Phenician system of writing in Greece, which, if eventually proved, would shake to its foundations all our existing ideas as to the origin of that renowned Alphabet.

I. The existence has been discovered in Crete of a form of writing both Hieroglyphic or Pictorial, and Linear approaching to Alphabetic. The date of the former can be taken back to the third Millennium before the Christian Era: the date of the latter, which is Syllabic, or in some degree Alphabetic, is credited with an existence in the fifth Millennium and a circulation all over the Mediterranean. At the meeting of the British Association of 1899 Professor Petrie remarked: "We stand now in an entirely new position as to the sources of the Alphabet, and we see them to be about thrice as old* as they have been supposed to be."

II. The results of exploration in Asia Minor, Egypt, Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, and other Islands of the Mediterranean, as well as the Peloponnesus, bear witness to the existence of a pre-Phenician Civilization, of which Mykénœ was the centre, to which a date must be assigned of the third Millennium B.C.*

III. The theory of the Phenician origin of the Alphabet through the Hieratic is consequently shattered to pieces.

The evidence of the priority can be summarily stated. Civilization in the Ægean Islands and on the Greek Mainland dates from beyond 3,000 years B.C.* The Phenicians have left no literature: they migrated originally from the Persian Gulf. In 1600 B.C. Phenicia was a dependency of Egypt. The decay of the Mykénœan Civilization was one of the results of the Dorian invasion in the Twelfth Century; the Phenicians overran the Ægean, and ruled it until the Greeks recovered their power, and expelled them from their waters, and ultimately Alexander of Macedon destroyed Tyre. Between their rise and fall their commercial pre-eminence

*[A "theory" without any foundation.—Ed.]

enabled them to impose an Alphabet on the Greeks, but if the new idea is accepted, that it was not derived from the Hieratic form of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, whence came it? This is the question now raised at the close of the Nineteenth Century: how shall it be replied to?*

Some thought once that it will never be settled whether the Phenician Characters are modifications of the Egyptian or the Hittite, or the Cypriote, or mere abbreviations of a picture-writing peculiar to the Phenicians. But when that opinion was expressed, the discovery of the Cretan Pictographs and Linear signs had not been accomplished, and this discovery has not settled the question. The Phenicians came under various influences, and their adaptive Character lost the impress of their surroundings. As Semites they could not have been entirely unacquainted with Cuneiform. Their settlement in Egypt made them familiar with Hieroglyphics. When they entered the Ægean environment, they found an ancient Script used for communication in the Mediterranean. It is not unreasonable to hazard the idea, that the rudiments of the Phenician Writing may have come in part at least from the Ægean side, the inhabitants of which were undoubtedly far ahead in civilization of their neighbours on the Syrian Coast.†

The deliberate opinion of the new School, of which the author of this book is the exponent, is, that the Phenician Alphabet was compounded from various sources, the selection and modification of which were ruled by commercial considerations. As men of business they had scant leisure, and their object was brevity, and they aimed as near shorthand as possible. They purged their Script of surplus signs, determinatives, and such like, and launched into the World an Alphabet which, though very far from a scientific vehicle of all possible sounds, and very deficient in modern times owing to the absence of periodical reforms to suit new requirements, still had the honour of being accepted by long generations of men and has secured an essential permanence denied to any other Human Invention whatsoever.

The reader who only dips into this very deep subject for the first time must not suppose, that all the Alphabets in use at the present Epoch are identical in form or structure: nothing of the kind. Any Public officer in India familiar

*[This Origin of Alphabetical writing, and of the Phenician, is the very subject solved in the other of the two papers (this, one by Dr. Oust being one) which we referred to in our last Quarter's Notes, and which we suggested some rich patron of Sanscrit Literature should print, on the score of expense. The cost might be from Rs. 500 to 1,000.—Ed., *C.R.*]

†[All baseless assumptions.—Ed., *C.R.*]

with the use of the Nágari of the Hindu and the Shikastah of the Arabic, as they lie side by side on his office table, having been presented for his signature, might suppose that they were totally different, but the germinal idea and structural principle which underlie them are the same. The first division of sounds is into Consonants and Vowels, and the former are divided into segments with reference to the organ of the mouth, which controls the emission of the sound: Nasal, Guttural, Palatal, Labial, and Dental.

And the descendants of the so-called Phenician Alphabet reign supreme, and of the four hundred Translations of the Scriptures scattered over the World there is not one in a Hieroglyphic, or a Cuneiform Character.

The Translations of the Extreme Orient, in China, Japan, and Korea, are for the present partly in their old Ideograms, and partly in the Roman Alphabet: it is not wise to advance too rapidly in such matters. Had these Nations possessed a form of Script worthy of existence, as is the case in India, it should deserve all respect, but under the circumstances a gradual change seems inevitable. On the other side of the Globe, in the extreme North and South of America, two Missionaries committed the daring absurdity of inventing new forms of Script, thus cutting off their dark flocks from any means of intercourse with their white neighbours. In the North the Translator went back a couple of thousand years, and introduced among the Kree, and other Red Indian tribes, a syllabic code of symbols; in the South the daring innovation was tolerated by the Committee of the Bible-Society, which printed the translation of a 'one-man' alphabet, specially prepard for the Yahgan tribe. The sooner it dies out the better.

Chapter X of our author's interesting little volume is devoted to Greek papyri. It deals, in fact, with the material, on which the Alphabetic symbols were recorded, and which have come down to our times either by the medium of Palæography, or decipherment of documents, or Epigraphy, the decipherment of Inscriptions on Stone, or Metal, or Baked Clay. What a debt of gratitude we owe to our predecessors of the Human Race for the unconscious service, which they have rendered us, in storing away perishable documents in tombs so dry, that they have been preserved from the ordinary decay of vegetable matter, in Inscriptions on metal documents as fresh as when the proud Monarch looked at them before the time of Abraham, of baked clay bricks impressed with writing which was written long before the date which Archbishop Usher assigns to Adam. The oldest surviving Hebrew or Sanskrit document does not surpass in antiquity

the Norman Conquest of England,* the oldest Greek document dates back only to the time of the Emperor Constantine, and the oldest specimen of Greek Character cannot be carried back beyond the names on the Rock at Aln Simbal, carved by the Greek soldiers, who had deserted the service of Ptolemy a century or so before the Christian era.

This makes the discovery of Greek papyri so very acceptable, as they go back to the Third Century before the Christian era. They consist of fragments of the works of celebrated Greek authors, and still more valuable copies of works known by name only, as no other copy had survived; add to these a collection of Logia, or Sayings of Jesus Christ, some of which are familiar, and some wholly new, and a feeling of expectation is created, amounting to certainty that a great harvest has still to be reaped. Some interesting remarks follow on the variety of modern Alphabets in daily use. This opens an entirely new field, which we pass by.

Chapter XI describes briefly the eccentric and exceptional forms of written Character known as Runes and Ogams.

The Runes are Alphabets, a degraded form of the Greek Alphabet, possibly introduced into Scandinavia by the Goths, but their origin is still uncertain. Their shape indicates that they were intended for incision on wood, stone, or some rigid material, and very few Manuscripts have been found. Inscriptions are found in England, Scotland, the valley of the Danube, in America, but not in Ireland; in the Isle of Man, but not in Wales. Some of its characters were woven in the compound Script, which was the vehicle of Ulfilas' memorable Translation of the Gospel, which can still be seen in the University of Upsala.

Specimens of the Ogam Alphabet are found only in the British Isles; they are held by some to be derived from the Runic, by others from the Roman Alphabet; the letters are formed by straight or slanting strokes drawn above, or beneath, or right through horizontal or perpendicular strokes.

One great merit of this little volume of 230 pages of duodecimo size is, that it opens out fairly the question of the origin of the Phenician Alphabet, supposed to have been finally set at rest by the theory of M. de Rougé, who traced it to the Hieratic.

The foregoing lines were written in September, 1900, at the seaside, but on my return to London in the Autumn of the same year, I attended the Annual Meeting of the School of Athens, and the Hellenic Society, heard the addresses

* [You evidently have forgotten the great Hebrew Bible in the Vatican, brought by Titus to Rome after the Seige and Capture of Jerusalem.—ED., *C. R.*]

of Mr. Evans and Mr. Hogarth on those occasions, and printed matter in one or two periodicals fell under my notice, from which I made extracts to indicate how far the discovery of the origin of so-called. Alphabet has advanced at the close of the Nineteenth Century. Unluckily no arguments have as yet appeared on the opposite side, and I am one of those, who do like to see a question well argued out. The same thing happened about thirty-five years ago, when the theory of De Rougé as to the Hieratic origin of the Phenician Alphabet was propounded. I never heard anyone oppose it, except old Dr. Birch of the British Museum,* who shook his head, and a party, who asserted without proof or argument a Semitic origin: no one ever dreamed of Crete and the Ægean Islands and shores as being its birthplace.†

A Cretan Exploration Fund has been established, and has put forth an appeal based on a statement of last season's work. The Directors and Explorers in the Field are Mr. Arthur Evans and Mr. David Hogarth. The enterprise is recognized by the High Commissioner in Egypt, and a number of important sites have been allotted to the British Excavators at Kephala on the site of Knossus, which contained the remains of a prehistoric Palace, and the great Cave of Zeus at Mount Dicte. The results of the excavations up to the close of 1900 have exceeded the most sanguine expectations. There is no doubt that we have found the House of Minos, and the Mysterious Labyrinth, the habitation of the Minotaur. More will be discovered in 1901, when the expedition renew its labours.

In the *Contemporary Review* of December, 1900, Mr. Hogarth, one of the Directors, described the finds made in the excavations of 1899 and 1900. One Inscribed Tablet at Præsor requires separate notice; it is written in an unknown Language in the Archaic Greek Script: this is the single possible key to the mass of Inscriptions on Clay. Mr. Evans discovered the first example of a class of objects, which are likely to be Epoch-making, *viz.*, a small wedge of hardened clay inscribed with half a dozen symbols of the linear Script above alluded to, which up to this time are undeciphered: these are hopefully welcomed as promising to be the long-looked-for medium of written communication, the prehistoric Ægean. These priceless documents appeared in twenties and tens, and in some chambers by hundreds.

In the Archæological Report of 1900, and in the *Contemporary Review* for December, 1900, Mr. Evans and Mr. Hogarth give fuller description of these Tablets: they are in two Scripts,

*[Dr. Birch, our old friend, and Member of the Society of Biblical Archæology, knew better.—Ed., *C.R.*

†[Neither are they.—Ed., *C.R.*]

and Professor Sayce, in the *Expository Times* of January, 1900, does not hesitate to record his opinion that De Rougé's theory of the origin of the Alphabet from the Hieratic Egyptian must be definitely abandoned, and that it is from the Cretan Script that the Phenician Alphabet was derived. [A very *non sequitur*.—ED., *C.R.*]

In the *Monthly Review* of March, 1901, is an important paper by Mr. Arthur Evans, and we recommend it to the perusal of all. We add the following thoughts:—

When we left College and School in the Forties or Fifties, all idea of the origin of Greek Culture was non-existent:* the Homeric Poems were the *ultima Thule* of our horizon. Schliemann pierced the darkness, and revealed Troy, Mykénœ, and a new world, with a remoter date of 1600 B.C.

But no mention or thought of Crete had occurred, which was in very deed the centre of Ægean Culture. Minos was a veritable analogue of Moses, the first lawgiver of Greece, a worshipper of Zeus, whose figure was thought to be that of a Bull, hence the Minotaur, and whose symbol was a double axe, or Labris, hence Labyrinthos. There is reason to believe that the palace of Minos, found at Knossus in Crete, was the very Labyrinthos, to which a date of 2000 years B.C. can be assigned. It represented the work of a previous race, was utterly destroyed by the later invaders, and the beautiful legend of Theseus, the Minotaur, and the Labyrinth sprang into existence. I am still in hopes that we shall hear something more certain of the Philistines, who settled on the seashore of Palestine, and who are sometimes supposed to have come from Crete.†

ROBERT N. CUST.
(*Aged 80.*)‡

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* [Not so, when we left College in the Fifties; the origin of Greek Culture was known to us then as having come from the South—from Egypt, by way, of course, of Crete.—ED., *C.R.*]

† [Our friend plays havoc with dates in the above article, and makes vast assumption.—ED., *C.R.*]

‡ [The united ages of our old friend, of ourselves, and of another writer in this number of the *Calcutta Review* run up to 220 years! Dr. Cust has contributed to its pages since 1846 and this is, we believe, his 53rd contribution. It will be seen from it, that he is pretty lively still.—ED., *C. R.*]

ART. II.—THE SECOND EMPIRE.

MESSRS. HUTCHINSON have issued a supplemental volume of the memoir of the Emperor Napoleon III by M. de St. Imbert; but one of the most interesting of the series will be found in the earlier section entitled "Louis Napoleon and Mlle. de Montijo." As an object of commerce, the book is not of much value; translated by an American impartially alien to both the French and English tongues; it has no date on the title-page, no Preface notes or even a decent Index: yet as a portrait of one of the most notable adventurers of an adventurous age, the work is of incontestable importance. More than most human beings, Louis Napoleon's character presented complexity and contradiction: amiable yet unscrupulous, brooding without real reflection, the victim of dreams with a latent capacity for action, timid and sentimental yet prone to obstinate resolution, a Prince both dignified and generous who went through life an incorrigible conspirator, he combined the French attributes of his mother with a mysterious element that perhaps was Italian. Such a man, devoid of humour and with little sense of the ridiculous, was fated to make great enterprises which always failed, until he got into the hands of brave and able rascals who formed themselves into a syndicate to use his name and his ambition for purposes of their own. Whatever apparent success or temporary glory attended the second Empire was due to Fleury and St. Arnaud and Pelissier, to Morny and Walewski and the minor members of the gang; as was abundantly shown by the very inferior doings which ensued when these men were gone and their services lost to the Emperor. Ludicrous as were the burlesque heroisms of Strasburg and Boulogne, they were not more unsuccessful than the sham Liberalism that came when affairs fell into the hands of Lebouf, Gramont, and Ollivier. The present volume deals for the most part with the early life of the Emperor, ending with his taking to wife the illustrious Scoto-Spanish lady now an exile in England.

One of the strongest of all the contradictions in the nature of this exceptional man was the apparent coldness which marked its hidden fire. When he was tried for his unsuccessful attempt at Boulogne, in 1840, it was observed, by one of the Judges, that the defence was more effective when read than when heard in Court; the reason being the carelessness of the delivery: this want of expression was an "unexpected contrast to the impatient temerity" of the deeds with which the

prisoner stood charged. Like a volcano covered with snow, says our author, the Prince's heart flamed under an impassive manner—many persons yet living can call to mind the small grey eye and the waxen mask. Of many romantic passions thus concealed from the world it is now notorious that one of the earliest and purest was his desire to marry Mathilde, the daughter of his uncle Jerome, a witty and beautiful Princess whose subsequent marriage to Anatole Demidoff was so unhappy. After the proposals of Prince Louis had been negatived for family reasons his vacant affection was transferred to an English lady of the name of Howard who is said to have been his faithful friend to the end of her life; but something more regular became a matter of necessity when the exiled adventurer attained the object of his long dreams and tenacious endeavours.

A pedigree of the Empress is given in the opening of the book, but it is not until eight-tenths of the volume are finished that Mlle. de Montijo—in spite of the title—makes her appearance in person; and it was not until the second year of his reign and the forty-fourth or forty-fifth of his life that the now successful adventurer resolved on marriage. The lady on whom his choice fell was of mixed extraction: her father, M. Guzman de Porto-Carrero, was a Spaniard who had served in the first Napoleon's army against his own country; her mother was the daughter of an American Consul of Scottish origin by a Flemish mother. Indoctrinated in Bonapartist ideas, the young Eugenie was residing at Paris with her mother at the time of the *coup d' état* in December 1851; on which occasion she sent to the President an offer of support in case of failure. She was then in her twenty-fifth year, and "one of the most exquisite creatures in Europe" according to the description of a female contemporary: her charms of mind and person had already attracted the admiration of the Prince. At the end of the year 1852 the Empire was voted by a hypnotised population, and the opening of the winter-season was marked by splendid social functions at Fontainebleau, Compiègne, and the Tuileries. At all these gay parties, in the hunt by day and at the dance by night, the foremost figure was that of Eugenie de Montijo, Countess of Téba; and on the 22nd January the new sovereign announced to his new assemblies his intention to make the lovely stranger his consort. For seventy years, said the Emperor, various royal Princesses had shared the throne of France to end in calamity and see the ruin of their families; for his own part he prepared to make a marriage of inclination.

The change, alas, brought no better fate. The sad recollections of Burke's impassioned mood are renewed for the linger-

ing veterans who remember fifty-three. The heroine of those days is not yet dead; but her throne is ashes and of the Palace of her bright morn nothing is left but a few ruined columns. Cold, indeed—as the eloquent Irishman said of Marie Antoinette—must his heart be who could contemplate without emotion "that elevation and that fall." What share the Empress may have had in the calamities of herself and of the dynasty may be a question open to much discussion. Some sovereigns have suffered disaster from the advice or the action of their wives: in various ways this was the case of Charles I. Louis XIV, and, probably, Henri IV of France. In like manner the Empress Eugenie has been accused by critics more positive than sentimental of giving bad advice to her lord on more than one occasion; but no one at the time thought of such a contingency, unless it was a few envious ladies and some malcontents who believed—or professed to believe—in omens. General Fleury's *Recollections* contain the record of a sinister event of which he was an eye-witness. As the state-carriage left the Tuileries bearing the happy couple to Notre Dame for the religious portion of their wedding, the crown that surmounted the roof of the vehicle fell off, and the procession was arrested while a workman was brought to restore it to its place. An old byestander recalled the fact that it was in the same carriage that the great Napoleon and Marie-Louise had gone on the like errand, and that their departure had been accompanied by the very identical incident.

But in truth the Empire required no omens, it bore the germs of ruin in its very essence. Founded on perjury, cemented with innocent blood, it made a fair-weather show, but was bound to collapse at the first rude shock. The Mexican business, when French troops were withdrawn at the bidding of the Yankees, was almost a final blow; but a short interval was allowed for repentance. The half-hearted Liberalism that followed was no more than a preparation of disaster; and if the war with Prussia had not come in 1870, the Empire would have perished almost as soon as it did from intrinsic dry-rot. In its earlier and more prosperous period there was a chance that the Royalists would accept it as an alternative to Democracy; in 1867 men of position were already beginning to treat it with ridicule; the Bishop who had been one of its chief supporters was now obliged to confess that in his Cathedral the quire sang alone when they intoned the phrase—"Domine! Salvam fac Imperatorem."

Yet the Empire, at least up to 1860, did not fall very short of its duties towards the country. The administration rolled smoothly on the lines laid down by the first Napoleon; and

the relations with Great Britain were of that amicable nature which is best for two kindred nations only separated by twenty miles of sea. The fortunes of England and France have been so very different that one is always in danger of forgetting how much they have in common: being alike of Celtiberian origin, alike influenced by Roman domination and Teuton conquest. But it is true that these elements have not been uniformly blended; and the infusion of Teutonic blood has been far stronger in one case than in the other. Moreover the social and political evolution of the two nations has followed a very divergent path, so that in one we find equality prevailing, but liberty in the other; those two items of the Revolution programme being mutually incompatible. Lastly, we may notice a final distinction in the literary habits of the respective countries; France being the land of the most ordered and logical prose, while Britain, especially its Teuton section, has produced poets such as no other modern country has ever boasted. Of the likeness, in character and interest, that underlies these contrasts the Emperor had been fully informed during his long residence in London; and the consequence was that he cultivated the alliance with England, even against currents of feeling in his own country, and gained much temporary advantage to his position by so doing.

An intimate friend of his Majesty was accustomed to relate the story of the origin of the Crimean War in a manner very different from that of Kinglake, and much more favourable to the reputation of Louis Napoleon for ability. Lord Palmerston, according to him, was sent over, by the Queen, to consult with the Emperor as to the course to be pursued upon the supposed menace of the Russian Government in the beginning of the year 1854; and the Emperor desired to carry out his own plans but to have the sanction and support of the British Government. The guest was received with that perfect amiability which was the Emperor's best quality; and day after day passed in rides and drives and friendly dinners. Palmerston was taken over the projected improvements in the fortifications and streets of Paris, and shown all the new roads and groves in the Bois de Boulogne; but everywhere Fleury was with them and no opportunity was offered for the private and confidential discussions which formed the object of the visit. The last day came, and the envoy had to ask his Majesty to issue orders for the special train that was to convey him to Boulogne in time for the tidal boat: the request was preferred while the two men were seated at breakfast with the Empress. "Must you really go?" asked the Emperor; "the time has flown since you have been with us." "Yes," said the Englishman gravely; "and I have not yet

been able to do what I come for." "Ah! the Russian question" murmured the Emperor: "come into my study." And there, in half an hour the man of mystery, with half-shut eyes, laid before his bewildered visitor the course that he proposed to take, with the momentous results of which all are now too well aware.

The political relations of Russia towards France and England have indeed changed since those distant days; and the alliance of France has been transferred from the last named to the former. But King Edward and Lord Salisbury cannot have forgotten that it was once possible to be on good terms with France; and that the fact was due to the good sense and calm courage of the nephew of England's mighty foe.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. III.—THE MUHAMMADAN REVIVAL IN AFRICA.*

LAST year the following statement was made in the *Spectator*:—"The present necessity is only to warn Europe that five hundred miles south of the Mediterranean a mighty cloud is gathering, which may, any day, burst over North Africa, and force Europe either to abandon its possessions and its hopes in that vast region, or to maintain them by the sword" The cause which has brought so serious a state of affairs is the rapid growth and extension of the Great Darwish Orders. We are largely indebted to French writers for information about them, and this is only natural, for the movement constitutes a grave political danger in Algeria. The chapter on the Religious Orders of Islam in Mr. Sell's *Essays on Islam* gives the English reader a clear and succinct account of the formation, regulations and objects of these Orders, and show how great the modern revival of this phase of Muslim activity has been.

In the Quran the Christians are charged with having invented the monastic life. "We gave them the Gospel, and we put into the hearts of those who follow him (Jesus) kindness and compassion; but as to the monastic life, they invented it themselves" Súratu'l Hadíd, verse 27. The commentator Husain says this verse refers to the monks who, after the departure of Christ, formed communities and adds that God did not command this way of life. In a Tradition it is recorded that Usman bin Mazun asked Muhammad to allow him to retire from active life in order to live the life of a recluse. Muhammad replied: "The retirement which becomes my people is to sit in the corner of the mosque and wait for prayer." The whole system of religious communities, bound by vows to one spiritual head seems, then, to be contrary to the mind of Muhammad, and the existence of such secret societies appears to be uncongenial to the spirit of Islam. Nevertheless, almost immediately after the prophet's death, some men were called to a kind of common life by the Khalif Abu Bakr, known as the Siddiq—the righteous. Indeed, some of

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* *Essays on Islam*, by the Rev. E. Sell, B. D., S. P. C. K., Madras: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., London.
L'Islam dans L'Afrique Occidentale par a Le Chatelier, Paris.
Marabouts et Khonan, par Louis Renn, Paris.
La Confrèrie Musulmane par H Duveyrier, Paris.
Le Maroc par R. J. Frisch, Paris.
LeMaroc par a De Ganniers, Paris.
L'Islam au XIX Siecle par a Le Chatelier, Paris.

the largest Darwish Orders now claim to have descended from the Siddiqiyah community said to have been founded by the first Khalif. Anyhow, the movement has grown, for there are or have been no less than eighty-eight different Religious Orders. Some are small and unimportant; but some are large and powerful and their influence has grown very rapidly during the last century. There is an element of mystery about them and this, during all the past ages, has attracted men of a certain class to them. Then the absolute surrender of the individual will which is required from the novice, the definite guidance in the daily religious and social life given by the Shaikh, the spiritual Director, the strong feeling of brotherhood engendered, and the fanatical spirit cultivated—all these things have drawn men of various temperaments together. The more immediate cause, however, of the modern revival of the Darwish Orders, is to be found in the changed and changing political condition of the older Muhammadan countries. Islam as a political power has of late years suffered many reverses. "Algiers is gone, Morocco is in danger, the English dominate India and Egypt. Russia has encroached largely on the Turkish Empire, has also absorbed the Central Asian Khanates, and threatens Persia. Muslim rule in Central Africa is in danger, for on all sides the Christian Powers are encroaching, and some of the best tribes, not yet won to Islam, are within their respective spheres of influence. The development of commerce and the wider influence of modern civilisation and learning, its art and science, are also disturbing elements in the Muslim world. Its contemptuous isolation, its absolute sway, are becoming things of the past. It has provoked a reaction. The religious spirit has been stirred up on its most fanatical side, and the Religious Orders have, in consequence, grown in extent and influence." *

The Darwishes look with the utmost dismay upon any compromise with western civilisation, any departure from the theocratic system of Islam, any loosening of the bands of tradition. They realize a great danger in the modern spirit of enquiry which naturally follows on a closer intercourse with men of other lands and other creeds. The great Islamic revival in Africa is not directed solely against Christianity, but is absolutely opposed to all western civilisation and seeks to hinder its extension or to limit its growth. Not only has a new spirit been infused into the older Orders, but new ones have been founded and then an active propaganda has been established which constitutes a danger to the civilised world.†

* Sell's Essays on Islam, p. 101.

† "Sans rien prejuger pour l'avenir, ou ne saurait nier qu'il y ait là pour les intérêts actuels du monde civilisé, un danger grave" Chatelier's *L'Islam au XIX^e Siecle*, p. 187.

It is time that the orthodox Mullas and the Ulama, the official interpreters of the sacred law, took with disfavour on the development and growing influence of the Darwish Orders, but the movement is too strong and too wide-spread for them to restrain or suppress it. Its chief field of operations is in North and North-West Africa, in the Western, Central and Eastern Sudans. The Shaikh, or head of an Order, is an absolute despot. The initiation of a novice takes sometime and is not complete until he has entirely given up his own will and is content to render absolute and unquestioning obedience to that of his Master Thus "thou shalt be in the hands of thy Shaikh as a corpse in the hands of those who prepared for burial. God speaks to thee through him. Thou art his slave and can'st do nothing without his order." Individuality is crushed out. The Shaikh is the one absolute will, whose order is final. Now, a body of men thus bound to act in absolute dependence on the will of a strong and fanatical man whose whole aim in life is to oppose all progress, all change, to prohibit intercourse with Christians, to keep aloof from all modern civilisation—a body of men at the absolute disposal of such a man constitutes a force not to be dispised or lightly thought of. Hitherto, except in the Eastern Sudan, we have not been brought into much contact with the Darwishes, but a perusal of the works of French authors shows how the matter forces itself upon their attention with reference to Algeria and the regions beyond. Passing by the names of many Orders, and dealing only with some of those which exercise influence in Africa, we come to the Great Shaziliah Order, founded in 1258 A.D. It flourishes still in Algiers. In its early days it was devoted to mysticism and its leaders took little or no interest in political affairs. It has given rise to many other Orders which devote less time to mystical studies and more to practical matters. The more recent Orders, offshoots of the older ones, and especially of the Shaziliah, are found chiefly in Timbuktu, Morocco and Algeria. Islam found a home in Timbuktu centuries ago, for the great traveller Ibn Batutah in the fourteenth century found many Muslims there, but a religious deadness has settled down upon them, and one of the results of the Muhammadan revival has been to stir them up to greater activity. The Bakkayah Order, the centre of which is in Timbuktu, has helped to bring about this change; and what has been done there has been also accomplished in other parts. One of the largest of the older Orders, the Qadiriyah, founded in 1165 A.D., was and still is strong in Algiers. Stirred up at the beginning of the nineteeth century by the Wahhabi revival, it started on a new career of missionary activity and soon spread rapidly in the Western Sudan and the neighbouring

regions. For the first half of the century most of the schools were under the care of Darwishes of this Order, who carried on propaganda in a regular and continuous way, and, on the whole, in a pacific mood. They have relied on the personal influence of the missionary and on education and not on the power of the sword.*

The Tijaniyah is a Modern Order and a warlike one. It has equally with the Qadiriyah been one of the chief agencies in the spread of Islam. Its founder was a student in the University of Fez, and the chief Zawiyah, or Monastery, of the Order is in that city. The most warlike of its leaders was Haji Umr, a man of great vigour and intensely fanatical. About the beginning of the nineteenth century, a leader, Danfodio, arose among the Fulahs, a pastoral people who had embraced Islam. This man stirred up their zeal and led them against the Hausas, and from them and other tribes made many converts at the point of the sword. Sokoto became the capital of a new Muhammadan power, and no less than four influential Muhammadan kingdoms in the Sudan and Senegambia exist now as the result of Danfodo's warlike zeal in the cause of religion. But the fanatical spirit did not last, and so, about the year 1883 Haji Umr went to Bornu and the Hausa country to reproach the Muslims with their apathy and roused in them the old fanatical spirit which had led the Fulahs on to such victories.

He extended his operations from Senegal to Timbuktu, and even as far as the Hinterland of Sierra Leone.† He founded a powerful Muhammadan State between the Upper Senegal and the Niger. By violent means; for the most part, he banished paganism, made converts to Islam, infused his own energy into the Muslim communities, and did more than any man of his time to spread Muhammadanism. He was killed in 1865 and left his large domains to his sons. Though there have been family dissensions, and though the kingdom left by Haji Umr is now split up into smaller states, yet even they constitute a very great power on the side of Islam. The establishment of French influence in the Senegal and the Niger regions will, however, limit the warlike spirit and activity of the Tijaniyah Order and its political importance must decline. Thus the Qadiriyah Order by its more peaceful methods, and the Tijaniyah by its more warlike ones have together been the chief agents in the wonderful advance of Islam in the Western

* The latest writer on this subject says "Par l'instruction qu'ils donnent leurs disciples, par les colonie qu'ils fondeut de tout côté, les adeptes de l'Islam mystique multiplient dans le Soudan paien leurs centres d'action." Chatelier's *L'Islam dans L'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 254.

† For an account of his many wars, see Chatelier's *L'Islam dans L'Afrique Occidentale*, pp. 176—188.

and in the Central Sudan during the last century. * Mr. Sell summarises the advance made thus :—"Now the whole Hinterland from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, as far south as six degrees north latitude, and the country on the eastern side of Africa down to the Portuguese territories is more or less under Muhammadan influence Islam has passed also from the Sudan into the equatorial regions. It extends from two centres. From the west it has gone along the Atlantic Coast to Senegal, Timbuktu and the Hausa country. From the eastern side the modern movement began when Si Ahmad bin Idris, the Shaikh of the Qadiriyah Order, sent out missionaries in the early part of the nineteenth century. They won over the Nubians who joined this Order in large numbers, and then missionary work began amongst the pagans of Kordufan. These two currents, the one on the east, the other on the west, are advancing rapidly into all the pagan regions." † This is not a permanent gain to civilisation. It does for the time raise the pagan tribes, it puts away some evils, but it lays down as essential truth the divine right of slavery, polygamy and facility of divorce. It engenders a spirit of contemptuous indifference to other religions and encourages a fanatical spirit. Above all, it bars the way to the entrance of a more modern and higher civilisation. The influence is thus, on the whole, for evil : the teaching of the Darwishes is avowedly against progress as understood in civilised countries.‡

We may now pass on to consider the most modern, the greatest and the most dangerous of the Religious Orders at work in Africa. The Sanusiyah Order is noted for the rapidity of its growth, its stern discipline, and its widespread influence. It was founded in the year 1843 Chatelier says : "The predominant fact in the evolution of Islam at the present time is the formation of the New Order of the Sanusiyah."§ Shaikh Sanusi, the name by which the founder of this Order is best known, was a native of Algiers, a student in the University of Fez and afterwards in the Al Azhar College at Cairo. Finally he found his way to Mecca and there placed himself under the instruction and spiritual direction of the Shaikh of the Qadiriyah Darwishes. In due time he founded an Order of his own and assumed the headship of it. The rapid extension of it has been marvellous. It has Zawiyahs in Arabia; Egypt, the

* See Chatelier's *L'Islam dans L Afrique Occidentale*, p. 318. This author also characterises these two Orders thus :—The Tijaniyah he calls "ardent aux guerres saintes" and the Qadiriyah he calls "pacifique et debonnaire," p 345.

† Essays on Islam, p. 126

‡ Gannier's *Le Maroc* p. 87 Frisch's *Le Maroc*, p. 47.

§ Chatelier's *Les Confréres Musalmanes*, p. 12.

Sudan, Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, Senegambia, and even in the Eastern Archipelago. The number of its members has been variously estimated at from three millions to eight millions. It is probably five or six. Shaikh Sanusi wrote many theological works. He was a man of great energy and of a firm will and so he exercised a very strict discipline over his followers. This rapid success soon aroused the hostility of the Mullas and of the Ulama. This led him in 1885 to withdraw altogether from them and to establish his chief Zawiyah in the oasis of Jaghbub in the Libyan desert and situated midway between Egypt and Tripoli. "The isolation of the desert life at Jaghbub, and the consequent freedom from the opposition of the Ulama and orthodox Mullas gave Shaikh Sanusi that peace and tranquility which increased his spiritual influence over his followers." He was also quite free from all political troubles and soon indeed became himself the chief power. A recent traveller says: "Tripoli, nominally Turkish, but practically under the rule of the Sanusiyah confraternity, is dangerous ground, into which France with her experience of this powerful and highly-organized Mahommedan sect, on the border land of Sahara and Algeria itself, may well hesitate to enter."*

Finally Jaghbub became too well-known, and in 1894 a move was made to the Kufra oasis, to the north-west of Lake Chad. It is in the midst of a large desert and is almost unapproachable. The head of the Order now resides near the Zawiyah of Al Istat, in this oasis. The Sanusis hate all Muslims who in any way submit to the political supremacy of Christian Powers and denounce the rulers of Turkey and of Egypt for allowing any such interference in their rule All good Muslims are exhorted to leave such countries and to come to the isolated life of a Darwish Zawiyah. The Shaikh sets the example by living in the most isolated place he can find. This does not mean that he lives in ignorance of the outside world. His agents spread far and wide tell him of all matters of importance. His organisation is complete. The Theological School of the Order contains hundreds of students who go forth as propagandists in all directions and achieve remarkable success. Shaik Sanusi died in 1859 at Jaghbub and was buried there Pilgrimages to his Tomb are very common. He was a very remarkable man. "Without shedding blood or calling in the aid of any temporal ruler, by the energy and force of his character, he raised up in the Ottoman Empire and its adjacent lands a theocratic system which is almost, if not quite, independent of any political power. His great object was to restore the original Islam and to revive the religious and moral laws of the Prophet. This being the attitude of his mind, he naturally opposed all modern

* Silva White's *The Expansion of Egypt*, p. 123

innovations in Turkish rule and life and wished to raise up an impassable barrier against western civilisation and the influence of the Christian Powers in Muslim lands."* At the Annual Conference the Shaikh consults with the heads of the various monasteries and with them makes plans for the future. In this way there is a method in all their procedure and careful plans are made for the extension of their influence. They are able to find out the most promising fields of labour and to develop their work in them, for success is not found in all places and at all times. Thus in Tunis they are not a powerful body. In Morocco they have three Zawiyahs. In the various oases and amongst the Berber tribes of the Atlas Mountains they have many. In the country of Tibeste and of Borku in the region of Lake Chad they are making great progress. They are strong in Tripoli and the Order is there a great social and political power.

One peculiar feature of the Sanusiyah Order is the success with which it absorbs other religious confraternities.† The Shaikh of the Sanusis extends his influence over persons not connected with his own Order. In fact, a man can, though in another Order, by submitting to certain restrictions, come into some sort of connection with the Sanusis. This amalgamation is constantly going on, and wherever the Sanusis settle, they generally take the lead and eventually rule. The Shaikh has set before himself as one great object to be achieved, the federation of all the various Orders in a great pan-Islamic movement. These men view with dismay the growing occupation of Muslim lands by Christian Powers, they look upon the Turks as weak and time serving. In fact the motto of the Sanusiyah Order is "The Turks and the Christians are in the same category: we will destroy them both at the same time." More than half the Muslim population in Algeria is connected with these Darwish Orders and there are over three hundred monasteries there. Of all these the Sanusiyah Order is the greatest enemy of the French.‡ By ceaseless intrigue, by skilful management, by devotion to one great idea it has attained to its present powerful position. "Algeria is honeycombed with Sanusi intriguers. . . . So vast a combination is necessarily fraught with danger to the peace of Africa: so

* Sell's *Essays on Islam*, p. 131.

† "Tous ces ordres ou confréries, divisées autrefois, semblent au contraire aujourd'hui obéir à une impulsion unique dont on ignore encore l'origines" Frisch's *Le Maroc*, p. 186.

‡ "La confrérie de Sîdi Muhammad ben Ali as Senoûsî est l'ennemie irréconciliable et réelement dangereuse de la domination Française dans le nord de l'Afrique aussi bien en Algérie, qu'en Tunisie et au Sénégal" Duveyrier's *La Confrérie Musulmane*, p. 14.

intolerant and powerful a sect is, ostensibly, capable of shaking Islam to its foundations, when the hour of action arrives."*

M. Le Chatelier, writing in the year 1899 of the problem which lies before the French in the Sudan, lays the greatest stress on the need of substituting French for Arabic in the administration of the country, and as far as possible in commercial transactions He sees that no direct attack can be made on the progress of Islam, and that, on the other hand, no special favours can, with safety, be shown towards it. He rather looks forward to the day "when Arabic, ceasing to be the language official and commercial, Islam will be no more dangerous." To this end he considers the French should resolutely turn all their efforts. It may be doubted whether the expected results would follow, but it is interesting to know the views of one of the best authorities in the subject. We may conclude with his conclusion : " Dix aus d'une politique locale ainsi conçue, tendant comme but immédiat, indépendamment de toute idéologié, par des procédés pratiques, efficaces, a la substitution du français à l'arabe, comme langue internationale, dans l'Afrique occidentale française, modifieraient singulièrement les destinées qui s'y préparent ; celles de l'Islam au XIX^e Siecle." †

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* Silva White's *From Sphinx to Orade*, pp. 124-5.
† L'Islam dans L'Afrique Occidentale, p. 366.

ART. IV.—A RETURNED EMPTY.

(Continued from July 1901, No. 225.)

CHAPTER XI.

1893.

THE indulgent reader is now within sight of an end to these trivial fond records. In the earlier part of 1893, the writer was fully occupied; first with the affairs of the Mercantile Institute, and ultimately with the completion of his "History of India" and revising a new edition of Beale's "Oriental Biographic Dictionary." The Institute proved to be a house founded on the sand. We opened in January, as announced; and Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff honoured us by coming down and giving an excellent send-off. But alas, the share-list never filled, the boarders never came, the Company was dissolved, of the sanguine Manager no more is known with any certainty. It was an excellent scheme, and he was a man of undoubted energy and capacity. Let us hope that he has found pastures new.

Later in the year the family migrated to Brussels, and my connection with the Civil Service Commissioners ceased soon after. This break seems to offer a hint to arrest garrulity which perhaps has already been indulged too long.* With regard to the special instance of the Institute, however, there is this to be pleaded if too much should seem to have been said. Retired or retiring, the Indian officer is in constant need of warning against giving his name and his small means to the promotion of schemes propounded by people of whom he knows little or nothing. If ever there was an undertaking that promised to be of substantial benefit to the country, this—on a modest scale—was one. Had there been capital sufficient to run the Institute at a loss for a year or two, it is most probable that the Chamber of Commerce in London, and similar bodies elsewhere, would in no long time have taken it up; and the foundations might have been laid for a substantial stand against the rivalry of foreign nations more enlightened than ourselves. But I must not end with prosing: only let this be allowed. In the canker of long-continued prosperity and peace a people learns to be arrogant and to live on its prestige. The like condition befel the Romans under Augustus and it needed the sharp lessons on the Rhine and the Euphrates to remind that mighty nation of its mortality and enable it to resume the great position that it held in the world from

* [We wish it were longer.—ED., *C.R.*]

Vespasian's accession to the death of Septimius Severus: the greatest century-and-a-half that the world has ever seen.

In Home-politics, it will be remembered, the year was one of controversy and surprise. At the general Election Gladstone obtained a small majority; which, consisting entirely of Irish Nationalists, obliged him to renew his attempts at giving the sister Island a measure of autonomy. His Home-Rule Bill was carried in the House of Commons, but failed to pass the Lords—as must, one would suppose, have been foreseen. The veteran Experimenter being now in his eighty-fourth year, people began to anticipate an early termination to the tremendous anxieties which his irrepressible initiative and indomitable energy had imposed on the public. In France affairs had somewhat emerged from the chaos into which they had been thrown by the strange combination of a brainless adventurer with reactionary support; but the Panama scandal continued to trouble the Chamber and to disturb Parisian Society.

January, Wednesday, 18th.—A gathering at the Institute; read preliminary report, and Sir M. Grant Duff made an excellent speech: as also did Mr. Ryce-Byrne Inspector of Schools. Many reporters were present, and we are to open on Monday with 52 pupils, exactly one-half being boarders, for whom every preparation has been made.

Monday, 20th.—Having brought my "History of India" down to Hardinge, am becoming impatient for a decision as to those referring to Auckland's Afghan war, which ought to have been consulted first. But Mr. D. writes that they are not yet available for publication, which must be seen to. It is evident that they must be more than half a century old; and even for state-papers there should be some Law of Limitation.

Friday, 27th.—Dinner at Florence Restaurant (Omar Khayyam Club). Mr. J. H. McCarthy in the chair. Sate between Mr. Edmund Gosse, and Mr. Barry Pain, both agreeable neighbours. Some good speaking; Gosse from an asthetic point of view, humoursome addresses from Messrs." Austin and Low "* Had to make a speech myself; but as I took up the poet as a Persian while my hearers appeared only to know him as the basis of Fitzgerald's "Quatrains," I fell rather flat. Quarritch, the famous Bookseller, recounted the genesis of the latter, which interested everyone.†

Saturday, 28th.—A lovely day—spent the afternoon at Mrs. A. Hunt's on Campden Hill, and met her clever daughter ‡,

* AUSTIN, L. F., an American by birth, author and journalist: and LOW, Sidney J., Lecturer on History, King's College, London.

† QUARRITCH, B. A well-known bibliophile in Piccadilly: *d.* 1899.

‡ HUNT, Violet, author of "The human Interest," and other Tales.

also Dr Moncure Conway.* The latter spoke in a very interesting way of Emerson and Lowell; which latter he considered a light of American letters, but not an original thinker though possessed of a fine style. He was disposed to compare him with Joseph Addison, who never told us anything new, but disclosed our own thoughts to us better than we could do for ourselves. Had heard Emerson say that he thought the Romish Church the best—for the stage. I recommended him to join the Omar Khayyam Club.

Sunday, 29th.—A visit from M. H. V. He is intelligent, but has the usual continental's difficulty in regard to our anomalous Constitution. The Queen, according to him, ought to dissolve Parliament rather than give her assent to the Home-Rule Bill. I did not enter on any discussion as to Her Majesty's duties, contenting myself with pointing out that the crown could do nothing of its own motion. What? he cried, not turn out the ministry? I had to admit that, in theory, the crown had that power, though it was last exerted nearly two generations ago and did not prosper then.

February, Thursday, 2nd.—A wet day: walked to Streatham and found that only one pupil had arrived at the Institute. Advised to the best of my ability.

Saturday, 4th.—Met Lord C. at Athenæum: he asked how old I thought T. was. I said "sixty-six; the prime of life." "Oh no," he replied. "eighty-three is now the prime: I am quite looking forward to it to take a new start." "Yes," said I, "by that time you will be a Home-Ruler."

Sunday, 5th.—Worked at papers for Foreign Office Exam.

Monday, 13th.—At India Office: efforts are being made to get me the Afghan papers.

Wednesday, 22nd.—At the Athenæum talked with Sir R. P. about Lord Lawrence as a Viceroy, and was glad to find him confirming the opinion recorded of him in the 21st Chapter of my little "History" He was great, rather as administrator than as statesman: a District Officer raised to the *n*th.

March, Thursday, 2nd.—At last I have obtained the information I wanted about the Afghan war of 1839-41; owing in a great measure to the unflagging kindness of Sir S. B.

Saturday, 4th.—Worked at India Office, making extracts from State-papers about Auckland, Ellenborough, etc,—for access to which, besides friends in the Office,—I am indebted to the courtesy of Lord Rosebery.†

Wednesday, 8th.—More work at I. O., on fresh matter. Lectur-

*CONWAY, M., Minister of South Place Ethical Society: *b.* in Virginia author.

† The Earl of Rosebery, K.T., K.G., etc., Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1892-94.

ed at Norwood in the evening, to a crowded room; subject "An Indian Village."

April, Tuesday, 4th.—Went to lunch with the Grant Duffs at York House, Twickenham: a pleasant talk with Sir M., strolling over the lawn, with the shining Thames by the side.

Thursday, 13th.—A musical gathering of Mmes. V.'s pupils; Lady Tweeddale in the chair, assisted by Barnby. Her Ladyship spoke with grace and ability in giving prizes.

Saturday, 15th.—With some of the family to the Palace to hear the tremendous *Faust* of Berlioz. Orchestra very good, chorus unsteady, Henschel gave his music with care and spirit, B. Davies rather stale, and Miss Macintyre. * It is a great work.

Tuesday, 18th.—Met Sir W. O. who was breathing threatenings and slaughter on the subject of Home-Rule for Ireland, assuring us that there would be civil war in Ulster, for which 50,000 men would come over from Glasgow and he would lead them. The combination of Orange-man and Anglo-Indian Hero! Weather like early summer.

Friday, 28th.—Went with E. to Teddington and through Bushey Park where the horse-chesnuts were in their early bloom. Wandered about the precincts of Hampton-Court, and left cards for the D.'s who were out.

Saturday, 29th.—Finished "Beauchamp's Career," which struck one as the deepest note that had been sounded in tragic fiction since "The Bride of Lammermoor." It is not, of course, free from the author's peculiarities. The style is enough to handicap him heavily: either the eccentric turns are intentional or they are not: in the one case they are weak, in the other uncivil. If a writer has thought out what he has to say he ought to know how to say it: if not he is coming before the public in deshabille which is not respectful. We do not want to see him either in his night-gown or in an impenetrable disguise. The disciples will call this a Philistine view; and may plead with some justice that the Master has compelled us to listen to him, and with more permanent attention than we pay to more conventional entertainers.

May, Tuesday, 2nd.—Read some of Colonel Ingersoll's bitter Yankee pleasantries at the expense of orthodoxy. † A land of plain language and Puritanism is able to bring forth queer results. Persons now living may see Protestantism largely turned to Freethought—of which it contains the principle.—[? ED.] What remains is *Conduct*.

Wednesday, 3rd.—Visited J. W. S. at Slough. In the after-

* BARNBY, Sir Joseph; *d.* 1896. HENSCHEL G., composer and conductor *b.* at Breslau.

† Son of a congregational Minister of N. Y. State, *b.* 1833, *d.* 1899.

noon we walked by the playing fields, to Eton and Windsor. Called on Holmes at the Castle. He received us very kindly, showing us the beautiful Library of which he is custodian; rooms and galleries of Tudor times, all wainscoated with tall folios in sumptuous bindings and with precious things in glazed cases on the tables: one book alone valued at £10,000. All this framed in a series of windows looking on a lovely landscape.

Thursday, 4th.—To London: forenoon at Athenæum; afternoon at Mrs. Toynbee's: dinner with my old Surgeon-General, who is always good and true. Great and unseasonable heat.

Monday, 8th.—Joined the Anglo-Russian Society on the invitation of Mr. Cazalet. Bearing in mind the remark of General-Boutourlin (at Ralston's dinner) one cannot fail to sympathise with a movement tending to obliterate misunderstandings between the two great Asian Powers.

Tuesday, 9th.—Read Froude on Disraeli; clever but not quite convincing. The brilliant author can see little but faults. This is a sort of inverted sympathy that some of us have, a quickness to see the weaknesses of others rather than their merits. I find two fine suggestions in the book; one, that in all our undertakings we ought to think only—or mainly at least—of the prosperity of the work itself, and to subordinate all care for our own fame and profit: the other that the brilliant Adventurer made a mistake in applying himself too exclusively to party-politics, to the neglect of social problems. As a politician, however, he did one enormous service; by so far blending the popular cause with the policy of the brake as to resuscitate a considerable body of conservatism and retard a Revolution. But his odd combination of histrionism with neglect of detail impeded his influence and hindered him from doing as much as he otherwise might

Wednesday, 10th.—A quiet day at home, reading the *Revue des deux mondes*. A really fine essay, by Jusserand, on our poet, Chaucer. Though there is a gulf between us and our French neighbours it is possible that international studies of this kind may gradually help to fill it: in the meantime it is too deep, though not so wide as to quite hide us from each other. Even at that early day the English mind had its peculiarities, and to these the writer had done justice: the cheerful seriousness, sympathetic observation, and pathetic humour. What a fine couplet is that which comes last of all in the best editions—

> "Forth, Pilgrim, forth! Forth, beast, out of thy stall!
> *Look up on high;* and thank the Lord of all.'

He seems to have begun with a playful compassion, to end in a sense of duty that becomes austere.

Sunday, 14th.—Tipple not at his best; but the peroration of

his discourse was grand; when he showed how the most unselfish friends of Humanity had sometimes to take their own parts and seems unsocial.

Tuesday, 16*th*.—Read more about Chaucer, the poet of May: but his May was ten days later than ours.

June, *Friday*, 2*nd*.—A strange error by Jusserand—usually so accurate in matters of our Literature. He translates the title "Summers' last Will and Testament" *Desnières voluntes de' l'ète* (*Le Roman anglais*). The "Will" meant is, of course, that of W. Summers, the King's Fool. M. J.'s version reminds one of the old joke about the French rendering of the "green man and still"—*l'homme vertel tranquille*.—

Monday, 5*th*.—Went to Hotel Metropole to meet Mme. de T.'s friend Stephansky, whom I took to the National Gallery (where he was much pleased). He is a well-bred specimen of the Russian gentleman.

Friday, 10*th*.—Read a statement in a delightful volume of Essays by Mr. Andrew Lang to the effect that before Rudyard Kipling there had been no Anglo-Indian contributions to Literature but by Meadows Taylor, Sir H. Cunningham, and Sir A. Lyall. Surely, unless this was only a new instance of the indifference and ignorance that affect the whole subject, this is a strange belief. Has the able writer never heard of Heber, Sleeman, Kaye, Hunter, Sherer, Temple—to name but a few? It would be a want of knowledge—or of urbanity—to say that—with the exception of Dr. John Brown and R. L. Stevenson—Scotland had produced no humourist in the reign of Queen Victoria. Even taking "Literature" in the modern sense of fiction and light articles, Mr. Forrest and Mrs. Steel count for something; while "His Honor and a Lady"—by an American whose married name is believed to be Coates—is a novel of great merit and interest.

Thursday, 15*th*.—To the Royal Academy Exhibition and passed through the rooms, noting Catalogue for report to an Indian paper. In general the work struck one as ambitious, what might be called "literary" rather than artistic—as is too much our British way. Indeed, some of the best pictures are by naturalised foreiguers—Alma Tadema, and Herkomer. But our *portraits* are above the general level, though even here Herkomer is almost the best.

Sunday, 18*th*.—The seventy-eighth anniversary of the Great Sunday of Waterloo—or Mont S. Jean as the losers more correctly say. It was a severe stroke of Nemesis on Egotism, pointing a moral of eternal import. No man, even were he a Napoleon, can stand against "all the world," though Hero-worship applaud the attempt. The greatest man only does great work as part of a whole-family, nation, church, or

whatsoever it be. Napoleon ignored this: Count Flahaut used to relate that, as they rode in the moonlight over the fields between Genappe and Charleroi, he ventured to ask, "Has not your Majesty been astonished to-day?" And, according to him, the answer was—"No! The French have always been the same, ever since Crecy." Considering how they had fought for him—every third man of them being left upon the field—it was not for him to say so. But he was not the victim of any fault but his own; always isolated. There is a homely word on this matter in an old Sanskrit poem—

Fallen from their proper place how can
Prosper tooth, nail, nerve, or man?

Saturday, 24th.—A rainy day. Undertook to edit "Childe Harold" for Messrs. Bell. It is, of course, unequal; abounding in virile reflection and declamation. Yet often careless in execution, and sometimes sinking into amateurish slip-slop. Two of the best passages contain instances of absolute insincerity. In describing the great Cathedral of S. Peter at Rome Byron praises the building for what is really its chief defect: and the famous address to the ocean he begins by looking down on it from the Alban Mount, yet speaks at last of laying a hand upon its mane: which would indeed be making a long arm.

Friday, 30th.—Very hot day. Lunch at Athenæum, and thence to Westminister Palace Hotel to attend a Meeting of the International Arbitration Society, Mr. Stansfeld, M. P., in the chair.* My old friend Hodgson Pratt read the annual report, and the Chairman congratulated the Association on the recent vote in the Commons regarding a proposed arbitration-treaty with the United States. The Marquess of Bristol in moving that the report be adopted looked forward to a movement among the great Powers of Christendom in the direction indicated by the English-speaking nations of America and Europe. Being called upon I seconded the motion, guarding against a belief that defensive war could ever be abolished. Conan Doyle moved a resolution expressing profound satisfaction at the action of the House of Commons, in which he was seconded by an American citizen, Mr. Horace Smith of Philadelphia; and Moncure Conway added a rider for the neutralisation of trade in time of war, on lines originally laid down by Paine and Franklin.

Sunday, 2nd.—Heat very great. A fine discourse by Tipple on the institution and true significance of the Eucharist. Perhaps a little heretical and over the heads of most of us—as a lady remarked with whom I walked home. But, the

* Stansfeld, Rt. Hon. Jas., once a leading Liberal politician: since deceased.

language was most eloquent, with flashes of a noble poetry. He showed us the Master, sensitive of danger and doom, desiring to leave to his friends at their last meeting a memorial of himself; using his power of symbolism and making vehicles out of familiar objects and ideas.

Monday, 5th.—Another baking day: Oxford and Cambridge match at Lord's Cricket-ground—where there is always a fresher air than elsewhere in London.

In the evening Rugby dinner at the Metropole. A few old shadows, like myself; a good spread and fairly good speaking; Sir Horace Davey, Q. C., in the chair.* Speeches from the Bishop of London† and Mr. Selous, the African *Shikari*. Sate next to my old friend, General N. with Sir A. Blomfield, on the other side.‡

Thursday, 6th.—Heat greater than ever. Shops mostly closed, for the Duke of York's marriage. Worked at French Papers for the Sandhurst Exam.; answers not quite up to Indian C. S. level. One candidate writes that "Directoire was Napoleon's first wife." Family went at night to see fireworks in the Palace-grounds. Qu. Whether the pleasure caused by such displays is full value for the money: nothing visible being left but empty cases and rocket-sticks!

[The next two days were still hotter; no one could with any pleasure go out of doors from noon till near sunset. On the 8th, however, a change came in the afternoon, and before night the rain and thunder reminded one of the monsoon of India.]

Tuesday, 11th.—Pleasant day. We went to Imperial Institute to see the York wedding presents. A great crush.

Thursday, 13th.—Finished papers of Sandhurst candidates. A coincidence occurred, my marks exactly tallying with average of last examination held by another person.

Saturday, 22nd.—Have enjoyed Grant Duff's book on Renan, whose sayings are distinguished by subtlety and grace. In his address at "Lœius le Grand," in January, 1884, he said, "He who complains of life is almost always one who has sought the impossible:" the whole is full of wise and kind exhortations against Pessimism. The conclusion is—"Believe in good; good is as real as evil and produces something—unlike evil which is barren."

Saturday, 29th.—Called on the charming Lady E. in Cromwell Road. Here we were joined by Sir——who was

* Now Lord Davey of Fernhurst

† Rt. Rev. F. Temple, once Head Master of Rugby, now (1900) Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the Church of England.

‡ Blomfield, a well known architect, died while these pages were in hand.

working under my instructions near Agra when we last met and now he is a member of the British Government and I a returned Empty. [Never count so-called failure a loss. ED.]

Sunday, 30th.—Tipple brilliant, but extremely bold; on a text that must have exercised many and many a mind—"Inasmuch as ye did it to the least of my little ones ye did it to me"—Yet they did not even know Him!

Monday, 31st.—To King Street on examination-work: a day of warm shower.

In the evening read Morley's "Burke." It is very clever, and quite impartial: the author does not always accord but never fails to appreciate: pointing out that the reactionary spirit of B.'s later days is accounted for, and even partly justified, by the extravagance of the revolution-doctrines. However inevitable and essential to human progress was the break with the feudal past in France, it was better for us that our change should be more gradual; it is therefore to the eternal credit of Burke that he anticipated the modern doctrine of evolution in withstanding cataclysm. Perhaps Mr. M. might have more clearly brought ought the deterioration of temper which came over the great political philosopher in his declining years, till friendly observers thought the balance of his mind overthrown. No sane man ought to have used some of the language in Burke's speeches against Hastings. Lord Teignmouth recorded the opinion that B. was mad; and even although that may be a crude form of the opinion, it indicates an impression produced upon an earnest mind.

August, Sunday, 6th.—A crowded day. Took D. to S. Paul's in the forenoon; church very full; two of the congregation turned out during service. Left at the end of prayers and went to sermon at S. Bride's; by the Vicar, who gave a humane and sympathetic discourse on doing right whilst we had a chance left. Afternoon service at the Charter House: a pathetic right afforded by the old Codds, with patient venerable faces—some of soldierly bearing—seated in the chapel like a lot of schoolboys, and then trooping eagerly to tea in their warm Hall. Their faces looked both harmless and happy; and one of them said that "It was the best life in London."

Tuesday, 8th.—Engaged to edit Burke's "Regicide Peace."

[A week of very hot weather followed; during which no outside event took place, but the time was filled with work at home.]

Friday, 18th—Corrected last proof for publishers.* In the evening a cold dinner with the Recluse of Queen's Mansions (Surg.-Gen. O'Callaghan).

* *History of India*, for the use of Students, 2 vols., 1893.

Monday, 28*th*.—Looked into a book once very familiar to one's younger mind: Coleridge's "Biographia Literaria." With lights that have subsequently arisen one takes a less enthusiastic estimate than one did in the roaring Forties. 'Tis a chaotic encounter of paradox and platitude; very solemn twaddle alternating with very subtle thought: a Libyan waste dotted with colossal images. One notes a sort of prevision, here and there, as of the dawn of our modern day, *e.g.*—"Philosophy should at once explain and collect the fragments of truth scattered through systems apparently the most incongruous." Many subsequent thinkers have tried this method; Cousin, in France, almost professedly. And Herbert Spencer, though far more original than Cousin, has undoubted symptoms of a desire to harmonise the principles of predecessors and embody them in his own system. Pascal, in a well-known fragment, endeavoured to establish a synthesis, or combination, between Stoicism and Epicureanism, or—as he put it—between Epictetus and Montaigne; of the success of that endeavour let his readers judge for themselves. But certainly very useful results have come from the reconciliation of Plato and Aristotle, and other apparent dissidents, in the modern Synthetic.

Tuesday, 29*th*.—A friend looked in and suggested a book;—"Specimens of Elizabethan English." I objected to the name; because I think the particular style extended from More to Milton. Something of the kind has already been attempted in Basil Montagu's "Selections" which range from Latimer to South.* By the way, what a very singular history was that of B. M. The son of the ill-fated Miss Ray, shot by a discarded lover—the Rev. Jas. Hackman—he became a Queen's Counsel in the early years of Queen Victoria; a writer on Bankruptcy, the biographer of Bacon, and grandfather of the poetess Adelaide Procter.†

Thursday, 31*st*.—S. and self to India Office where we were shown over the pictures by Mr. W. F. who—with his M.S. catalogue in his hand—told us all that is known about them.

September, *Tuesday*, 5*th*.—Sent a short paper, on Russia and England in the East, to the Secretary of the A. R. L. Society. If the Russian Government will act in good faith there is room for us both in Asia. We are dismantling and packing for a move, and my house is left unto me desolate.

Saturday, 9*th*.—Weather cooler after a heavy storm of yesterday. Went to Athenæum and found the smoke and

* *Sections*, etc., by Basil Montagu, Esq., M.A., *5th ed*, 1839.

† Basil, *Montagu*, Q. C., *b*. 1779, *d*. 1851. Son of the Lord Sandwich of JUNIUS and his mistress, Miss Ray. His *Bacon* had the honour to be wed by Macaulay.

billiard rooms full of the warriors from over the way, whence they have been temporarily evicted by the painters. Dined with O'C. at Queen's Mansions, meeting General T., a retired officer of distinction (R. E., and V. C.) He said one thing which seemed very true and very sharp: "An Indian career had this great advantage, that it enabled a well-educated young man to be sure of leading the *life of a gentleman*: and from that point of view it did not really much matter whether you had or had not what is commonly known as success. In the meantime it was much that for so many years you had escaped the meanness and misery of a middle-class English existence."

Wednesday, 13*th*.—A sick household. Worked a little at the Notes to Childe Harold. The wonder is that Byron should admit such doggrel without losing public admiration: *e.g.*—

> "And who is so brave as a young Suliote
> With his snowy camise and his shaggy capote?"

ould be thought of Sir L. M. if he said:—

> "Who was ever so smart as a farmer of Wales
> In his brass-buttoned coat with its long swallow-tails?"

Yet one notes, in the last two cantos especially, a habit of reflection and a power of expression that stamp the Master.

The weather is quite lovely, with soft S.-W. breeze. All windows open, men in straw hats, soldiers in white uniform, trees in thick leaf, and the shortening evenings compensated by bright calm twilight.

Sunday, 17*th*.—Walked to Streatham and found the Institute in a bad way. Gave such help and advice as seemed possible.

Tuesday, 19*th*.—Cleared out of our Norwood House; and went alone to N. Wales, having dispersed the family.

Thursday, 21*st*.—The weather much colder: one is glad of exercise. Fire-Brigade fête at M.

Saturday, 23*rd*.—N.-W. gale, with flying clouds and showers—what the French call *rafales*.

Saturday, 30*th*.—In lodgings at Norwood; weather warm with showery gusts. Sickness at home and abroad. Finished the "Regicide Peace;" and called to take leave of several neighbours.

(*October*), *Tuesday*, 3*rd*.—A busy day: lunch at Athenæum with Mr. Holmes: thence to Imperial Institute to meeting of the Anglo-Russian Society, where I read my paper,* to an indulgent audience. In the evening dined with O'C. a miracle of curiosity and candour.

Wednesday, 4*th*.—Head-quarters departed for Belgiums,

* *See* under date 5th September.

with 26 boxes and a canary. Dined with H. B. and went to a meeting of the Society where we had a good paper, by Conan Doyle, read to a crowded room.

[The next few days were occupied with work on papers of the "Indian Civil" Examination. The family got safe as far as Bruges, and thence to Brussels where they found temporary accommodation in the northern part of the city. The weather broke, after an unusual spell of heat; and when it settled again there was a permanent fall of the thermometer. As soon as I had finished the work of the examination sent in my Report I departed by Dover and Ostend.]

Wednesday, 18th—Reached Brussels at 6. p. m.

Thursday, 19th.—Tried to get my *Etat Civil* at the Hotel de Ville; but, after answering many ridiculous enquiries extending over family history for about a century, found the work must be done over again at the Commercial Office. Left a card *at the Brit.sh Envoy's* with introduction from the Foreign Office in London.

And so ends the experience and record of life at Home. The life at Brussels begins a new order of things about which nothing need be said here.

But this much one may perhaps be allowed to note. Life in Belgium is very unlike life in London or even in the Channel Islands. The country is neither wholly Teutonic nor wholly French, containing a couple of races who have different languages and mental habits; yet all agreed in putting Art above everything—even morality—the Municipalities offer prizes for window gardens and shop fronts; so that you see the Aldermen walking about with note-books, gravely recording their opinion of the various displays. At your club you have an Exhibition of Pictures open, or may be a lecture or a concert in the chief-rooms; and in summer when the opera is closed, the musicians from the Orchestra come up and play in an enclosure under the windows called "Wauxhall." The labouring-classes are over-worked, half-starved, and consequently bitterly hostile; crime is frequent and violent; the middle-class burgesses are self-indulgent and ill-mannered; the aristocracy proud, exclusive, and extravagant. On every side appear symptoms of squalid misery, coarse sensuality, and luxurious ostentation. The buildings, however, are solid and full of grandiose beauty. The contrasts of well-being and want are very apparent; and egoism is everywhere in evidence. Yet one must not generalise without reserve. Undoubtedly there is in Belgium a *Savant* class, consisting of men who—like the late Emile de Laveleye and Count Goblet d'Alviella—combine the usefulness of literary labours with the happiness of family life. Many names of wise and worthy

citizens will occur to the memory of those who know the country best: such men enjoy the beautiful scenes of rural repose in which their little land abounds.

Some ideal of this kind haunted the gentle soul of Virgil when he, in no perfunctory spirit, justified the preference that he felt for a country life, over existence in a city of political intrigue, and luxury, and vice. As may be seen in this unskilful paraphrase of II *Georg.* 493 *et seqq.*

I count him fortunate—and him alone—
Who will not seek the service of the state,
The suffrage of the mob, or of the great;
Frustrated craving never bids him moan
To whom the pleasures of the fields are known,
Without the pangs of rivalry and hate;
Nor is he scared by presages of Fate,
Or foreign politician's hostile tone:

He envies not the rich nor courts the poor,*
Nurses no craze nor hankers for a bribe,
Nor haunts the Lobby, nor delights to read
The speculations of the daily scribe;†
Contented if the garden at his door
Afford the food his just occasions need.‡

* *Nec doluit miserans inopem* could not be a sentiment of commendation now. We not only pity the poor man, we pamper him.

†*Populi tabularia* may well be applied to our journalism.

‡[We are sure we only echo the sentiments of every one who has read these papers in saying that these but too brief notes of a varied, useful and cultured life of a distinguished Anglo-Indian, and Author, have afforded the greatest pleasure and highest satisfaction, and even much food for thoughts and much instruction; and that while we regret their having come to a close, we trust that subsequent years' jottings may begin a *New Series.* These notes, if continued, would make a volume, for subsequent ages as interesting and descriptive of our times, men and manners, as *Pepys'*, be an equal favourite, and outlast all our present "men-in-the-street" authors, tale writers, vulgar versifyers, sciolists, and pretented and pretentious scientists and philosophers.—ED., *C.R.*]

ART. V.—HINDU FESTIVALS IN THE MAHARASHTRA.

THE Marathi almanac commences with the Chaitra Sukla Paksha, *i.e.*, the bright moon of the month of Chaitra. The first day of the year 1818 of the Shakabda, commenced on the 15th of March 1896. From the first day of the year, *i.e.*, the Chaitra Sudipratipada, commences the nine days of the worship of Rama, the ninth day is the anniversary of the birth of Rama. In the year 1818 it happened the 23rd of March 1896. This is the first festival in the year. In the year 1897 (1819 Shakabda) this festival happened on the 12th of April. The Civil Courts in the Central Provinces remained closed on that day. *

The next festival of the year 1818 took place on the third day of the bright moon, of the month of Vaisakh corresponding with the 16th of April 1896. It is called Akshaya Tritiya or Tiz. In this festival ancestors are worshipped, earthen pots filled with water given away to Brahmins and *Chichuni* a sort of sweetmeat made of tamarind and sugar is eaten. The same festival was observed in Bengal on the same date. In the year 1897, this festival took place on the 4th of May. The Civil Courts were closed on that day in the Central Provinces. The next festival took place according to an almanac printed at Poona on the 25th of June 1896, *i.e.*, the 15th or the day of the full moon of the month of Jyaistha. It is called Vat Savitri. The Marathi year is a lunar year and every month commences with the bright side of the moon and ends with the dark fortnight. In this festival people make presents of cooked food, sugar grain, &c., to their friends. The following is an account of this festival which appeared at the time in the *Times of India*.

"Princess Savitri. To the galaxy of great and good women India has contributed the most. One such we commemorate to-day when we worship the Indian fig-tree. She was the daughter of Aswapati, king of Madrá. She was a most beautiful girl. When she became marriageable, she asked her father to allow her to find out a husband for herself. She took a large following with her and started on the exploring expedition. It was rather forward, one might think, but then in the Ancient Indian days we, out the English girls of to-day quite

* During the months of Chaitra and Vaisakh females whose husbands are alive worship Gouri, and on a convenient day invite their female friends to a party. This is called Gourni. It is not a festival (tiwar) but a custom (rusm).

in the shade. But we were French too in our manners. For, though we married by self-choice, like the French, we took great care that the pair did not indulge in any liberties. We rather prized the peach with its bloom in tact. But to our story she went from city to city and from town to town. But nowhere did she find one who could satisfy her "elective affinity." Gœthe was not born just then and of course she was ignorant of the phrase, but she knew the fact—which is after all the essence of the matter. Now far away from the madding crowd, in a monastery in a wood, there lived a blind dethroned king whom during her journeyings princess Savitri had the good fortune to meet. He had a son named Satyavan who appeared a very interesting youth to Savitri. Like the Hindu girl she was, she did not let him know anything, only made him a mental husband—that is how we put it and returned home. It so happened that saint Nárad, who was a great Yogi, was on familar terms with the family. He warned the girl that it wanted one year to Satyavan's death, and unless she changed her mind, she would have to face widowhood within a year after her marriage. She did not change her mind. He was virtually her husband she said, for she had mentally given herself away to him. She married him. One day in the forest, where, of course, Savitri had come and lived with her husband, he, the husband, went to cut some wood for fuel. Savitri accompanied him. He climbed upon a banian tree and chopped down a large branch of it with his axe, but when chopping the next, the axe, while he raised it to strike the blow, hit his forehead, and fainting he fell on the ground. It killed him.

"Poor Savitri did not know what to do. She took the dead body in her lap and gave vent to her grief. Pleased with her constancy, god Yama—the chief of the death-angels—had himself come to fetch her husband. In the most moving tones the gentle wife supplicated him, which made Yama grant four boons—that if he touched her father-in-law's eyes with her hand, his sight would return; that his kingdom would be restored to him; that she would have as many sons as she chose; and that she would die before her husband. With that god Yama disappeared. Savitri touched her husband's forehead with her hand when he breathed and sat up. The ladies of the heaven were struck with this miracle, and as a homage to the loving wife, worshipped the banian tree under which she sat. And in commemoration of that event, the Hindu ladies, in order to prolong their term of wifehood, in other words to make their husbands long lived, worship the Indian fig-tree on the full-moon day of Jyaistha—the day of prince Satyavan's revival.

"The rest of the story is easily told. The king was restored to his sight; the minister who had usurped the throne repented and the king was restored to his kingdom. When he died Satyavan succeeded to the throne; and they lived happily ever after.

In Hindu homes, Seeta and Savitri, Damayanti and Draupadi, are household goddesses. It was the boast of our Ancient India that she gave the gentlest and chastest ladies to the world. If we still have gentle and loving Hindu wives, it is because we still bring up our girls in the traditions of those queenly Hindu dames."*

In the year 1818 (sak) there were two months of Jyaistha, 1st the intercalary and then the ordinary month, and therefore the above-mentioned festival took place so late as the 25th of June in 1896.†

The next four months are peculiarly the season of Hindu festivals: they are called the chaturmásya, the four months. Commencing with the month of Asharh, there is the festival called the Ákhári or the Asharhí purnima which took place in 1896 on the 24th of July. The spiritual preceptor is worshipped on this day. Poranpuries, a sort of cakes, fried in ghee, and all sorts of dainties are prepared and eaten on this day.‡

The next festival called Dwipa Puja (worship of lamps) took place in 1896 on Saturday, the 8th of August. The doors of houses are also worshipped on this day. Small images of some Hindu gods impressed on their plates of copper or brass are affixed to the doors of houses and are worshipped. It takes place on the fifteenth day of the dark moon of the month of Ashar or the Asharí Amávashya. In all these festivals the people indulge themselves in the best food they

* There is no such festival in Bengal; some Bengali ladies take upon themselves the task of performing the Vrata called Savitri Chaturdasi Vrata. A Brahmin performs for her (the lady who has undertaken the task) some religious ceremonies reads the story of Savitri in vernacular from some MS.; Brahmins are fed with delicacies, the ripe mangoe—being one of them, as the ceremony takes place in the season of the ripe mangoe. In Bengal a widow even can perform the Vrata in the hope that in the next world (when she shall be again united to her deceased husband), that her husband may live a long life. This Vrata must be performed annually for fourteen years in all. The Savitri bratam for 1896 took place in Bengal, on the 11th of May, *i.e.*, the fourteenth day of the dark moon in the month Vaisakh according to the Bengali almanac.

† The Civil Courts were not closed on account of this festival in the Central Provinces

‡ The Civil Courts are not closed on account of this festival, but the Civil Courts remain closed in the C. P. on account of the Ashari Ekádasi, the eleventh day of the bright moon of the month of Ashar, which happened on the 10th of July 1897. No member of a family including children would take any food mixed with salt on this day.

can afford, and I shall mention only the peculiar or particular dainties appointed for any particular festival.*

The next festival takes place on the fifth day of the bright moon of the month of Srawan. It took place on the 13th of August 1896. It is called the Nagpanchami. † Figures of serpents drawn on the walls of houses for the occasion, as well as figures of serpents made of stone or cut out of stone placed on the sides of roads or in Hindu temples, are worshipped. I have heard that some people go the length of going to the corn-fields in search of holes of serpents and place near these holes, milk in some vessel. If the serpent come out of the hole and drink the milk, they consider themselves fortunate. Every Monday in the month of Srawan is a day of fasting: they (the Hindus of Maharashtra) fast during the day and eat in the evening. This is observed by all Hindus from the Brahmin to the Sudra. This fast is called *nukt*, *i.e.*, eating at night. Some people observe this *nukt* throughout the month of Srawan, in which case it resembles the Mahommedan month of fast the Ramzan. Siva is worshipped throughout this month of Srawan. People observe these fasts for the reason that the gates of heaven remain closed for six months, from Vaisakh to Aswin, and if any one die during these months he has to wait till the gates open. He observes these fasts, that in case he dies within these six months, he may pass this period pleasantly. It is somewhat analogous to the Christian notion of purgatory.

Within ten days of Nagpanchami happens the rakhibundhan, on the day of the full moon of Srawan or the fifteenth day of the bright moon of that month. New sacred threads are worn by Brahmins on this day. Poor Brahmins tie some red thread on the right wrists of the children of a rich or well-to-do neighbour in the expectation of getting something, a few annas. This took place in 1896 on the 23rd of August. ‡

* The Civil Courts in the C. P. are not closed on account of this festival.

† A wresting match in the palace of the Rajah of Nagpur is described in Mr. L. K. L.'s book "In the C. P.," p. 50. The Civil Courts remain closed on account of this festival. In the year 1897 it happened on the 3rd of August.

‡ There is a very important ceremony not observed in Bengal called the Srawani which is performed by Brahmins about this time The followers of Rik Veda performed it on the 22nd of August 1896, and the followers of Yajur Veda on the 23rd. On the day of the Srawani many Brahmins meet together in the house of one of them. The ceremony commences in the morning. An Upadhya (priest) recites some Vedic mantras. Homa (offering to fire) is performed. The party does as the Upadhya commands. After two hours, they go to bathe: after bathing they assemble again. Again hear mantras for two hours. They drink panchagavya

The Civil Courts are closed on account of this festival. In 1897 it was observed on the 12th of August.

The next festival is the Gokul Astami, which takes place on the eighth day of the dark moon of the month of Srawan. It is also called Janma Astami, being the anniversary of the birth of Krishna, one of the incarnations of Vishnu, one of the Hindu trinity. It is analogous to the Christmas of the Christians. This festival is observed in Bengal. It seems that this festival is observed throughout India. But this festival does not occupy the same place as Christmas does among the Christians as it is next in importance to the Durga Pujah in Bengal and to the Diwali in other provinces of India. This festival occurred on the 30th August 1896. This day is observed as a day of fasting and food is taken on the next day. Images of Krishna and his friends are made of clay and worshipped. Brahmins are fed. On the 30th of August 1896 I saw images made of earth, coloured blue, with the figure of a serpent on their right arms, of the height of about a foot and a half, in a sitting posture, exposed for sale at Wardha, and I was informed that they were figures of Kanú On the 1st of September, some of these figures of Kanú or Kandha were thrown into a tank. On the 2nd September many of these images were carried with music, along the streets to be thrown into the tank after being worshipped. In the year 1897 the Civil Courts were closed on the 21st of August on account of this festival.

While at Wardha, on the 15th of August 1896, seeing a boy proceeding with a foot-stool on his head containing some flowers accompanied by about a dozen girls towards the tank into which idols are thrown after being worshipped, I went towards the tank to see what was going on there. There I saw two parties of girls, one on each side of a canal close to the tank. One party was abusing the other in filthy language and moving their hands and feet as if they were ready to fight. There were one or two elderly women in each party to prevent them from coming too close to each other, lest they should actually fight. This I may call a mock fight in abusive language. After this was over, the flowers were thrown into the tank, and some earth from underneath the water was taken out by some of the females, put into the baskets or foot-stools in which the flowers were brought and carried home. A Mahrathia Brahmin, to whom I mentioned

mixed with ashes of burnt wood and earth, in order to be absolved of all the sins they have committed during the year. Nobody takes his meal until the Srawani is performed. Sometimes two Upadhyas are engaged.

what I saw, observed that this sort of mock fight in words, does not take place at Poona.*

The next festival takes place on Srawanbadi Amavashya. It took place in 1896 on the 7th September. It is called Pitori as well as Polah. Bullocks are not made to work on this day. They are washed, their bodies stamped with circular marks with a brown or red colouring substance, their horns are painted and tufts made of thin fibres of the leaves of the date-palm, which are also coloured, hung from the top of their horns. The bullocks are taken to a place appointed and there made to stand for an hour or two in rows, then they are taken home. † A large number of people gather to see the exhibition. Your *dhobi* or washerman will in the afternoon bring his bullock or bullocks to you, for the sake of getting something, or if your friend or relation has bullocks to draw his tonga, his tonga-driver, would bring his bullocks to you for show as well as for getting some *bukshish*. On the eighth day from this date takes place the children's Polah, when wooden images of bullocks, standing on wheels, are drawn by strings by children to some place appointed, in the afternoon; after nightfall, a lighted torch is affixed to some part of the wooden frame. There is music also at the place appointed for the gathering of these wooden images and great excitement prevails. There is no such festival as Polah in Bengal. Poran Pulis are eaten on this festival. In 1897 the Civil Courts were closed on the 28th August on account of this festival.

Three days after the Polah, the festival called the Kájarhtij takes place on the third day of the bright moon (sud) of the month of Bhadrapad. In this festival, the ladies of the house go to a river or tank, get some earth from underneath the water, wherewith they make images of Mahadev and Gouri which are worshipped. The ladies observe a fast on this day. A procession of females pass the streets accompanied with music. Páti and Pápar, sorts of cakes are made and distributed to female guests invited, at night, and *haldi* and kunkum applied to their foreheads. It is also called Hartalika. In fact this is a festival for women only and not for men. The females keep up the whole night, singing songs, &c. This happened in 1896 on the 10th September.

* This is called Kumari Khel or the play of the unmarried girls, *i.e.*, the girls of one mohullah or quarter of a town form one party and of another mohullah form another party and abuse each other in the manner above described.

† At Wardha the bullocks were made to stand underneath a rope into which mangoe leaves were inserted, tied to the top of bamboo posts driven into the ground. A fair was held there on the occasion.

The next day commences the Gonesh Chaturthi, which festival lasts for ten days.* It closely resembles the Durga Pujah of Bengal. I saw nice smooth images of Gonesh sold in the shop of the seller of images at Wardha; and I also visited the houses of some people who worshipped the image of Gonesha. The parlour was tastefully decorated with pictures and lanterns. There was also music played by musicians in front of some of these houses which had the image of Gonesh in them. The next day is the *rishi panchami* † which the widows observe as a day of fast, perform penance (prayaschita). Next day they eat a meat consisting of cooked rice called Deosari, a kind of coarse rice, which grows in the bed of tanks and vegetables, *i.e.*, rice and vegetables produced without the labour of bullocks and hear sacred stories (katha). The eighth day of the bright moon‡ is the day for the worship of Maha Laxmi (also called Gouri Pujah) the next day is Gouribisaryan. Two images of Mahalaxmi are made, one of Jyaistha Mahalaxmi and the other of Kanistha Mahalaxmi. Mahalaxmi is worshipped, sixteen kinds of vegetable dishes and sixteen kinds of sweetmeats are offered to this goddess. Brahmins are fed. I was invited to an evening party on the day of the Mahalaxmi pujah, there were some amateur musicians who entertained the guests with their songs, and dancing. There were also harmonium and other musical instruments. We had tea and some *pendahs*, a sort of sweetmeat. It was in the house of Mr. Kowre, a rich pleader of Wardha. The next festival occurs on Bhadrapad Sud Chaturdasi and is called Anant Purnima or Anant Chaturdasi. This took place on the 20th of September in 1896. § Anant made of silk thread is worn on the wrists, and a sweetmeat called gharghe is eaten and also distributed to Brahmins. Anant brata took place in Bengal on the same day, the 20th of September in 1896. On the 10th of September 1896 I saw at Wardha, women going towards the tank into which images of idols are thrown, from morning to evening, some accompanied by music, others not. The music consisted of two or three sanie or brass pipes and a dhol (a little drum). Early on the morning of the 11th, *i.e.*, the second day of the Ganpati pujah, I saw a company of ladies in the tank, some of whom were Mahratha ladies and others Pardeshi ladies

* This festival took place in 1896 on the 10th September. The Civil Courts were closed on the 31st August 1897 on account of this festival.

† Rishi punchami bratam took place on the 12th September in 1896 in Bengal.

‡ Durbastami bratam, took place on the 14th of September 1896 in Bengal.

§ The Civil Courts were closed on account of Anant Chaturdasi on the 9th of September in 1897.

(Pardeshi means Hindi-speaking people of the North-Western Provinces who are living in the Maharashtra or the Central Provinces): for I could distinguish them by their dress. The Maharatha ladies had *luchis* (*puries*) and sweetmeats in flat baskets. Some of these eatables were thrown into the water, which boys belonging to low castes were collecting. The purdeshi ladies had slices of cucumber and other eatables in their trays and baskets. On the 12th of September I saw some people returning home with music, as if after throwing the Ganpati into the tank. On the 16th the Munsif's Ganpati was thrown into the tank. I was standing before my house when the procession of the Munsif's Ganpati was passing along the road. I was asked to join the procession which I did. At the tank a Brahmin distributed to me as well as to all the other persons that were there assembled, a little quantity of sugar and scrapings of the kernel of the cocoanut which was eaten then and there. On the 19th and 20th September, I saw several images of Ganpati being carried with music and procession, to be thrown into the tank.*

From the first day of the dark moon of the month of Bhádrapad commences the Pitripaksha of the Mahalaya, and lasts for fifteen days. † From the first day of the bright moon of the month of Aswin, commences the festival called the Nawaratra. It lasts for nine days, on the 10th day called the Bejaya Dashami it ends. During these nine days Balaji, otherwise called Venkatesh, an incarnation of Vishnu or Devi (Parvati), is worshipped according to the custom of each individual family. When Balaji is worshipped the festival ends on the 10th day, and when Devi is worshipped the festival ends on the 9th day. During these nine days a lighted lamp is kept in the house burning day and night. While at Nagpur, I was invited by a rich gentleman of the place on the day of the Bijaya Dasami. On arriving at his place I found a large gathering of Hindu gentlemen. *Pan supari* was distributed, and after being entertained with music for about an hour, the party walked to a garden belonging to the gentleman mentioned above. There they remained for some time, while some offering to fire was made by Brahmins. Each and every one of that party took some leaves of a tree, which leaves are called *sona* (gold) for the occasion and gave them into the hands of his friend or companion, exchanged salutations and

* I may be allowed to remind the reader of the serious riot which took place at Dhulia, in 1895, at the time of the throwing of the Ganpati into the water.

† The Civil Courts were closed on the 27th of September in 1897 on account of Pitrimok Amawas.

embraced each other. (The Nawasatra commenced in 1896 on the 7th of September.*)

The next festival is the Aswin Sud Purnima (which happened on the 20th of October in 1896. On this day images of Shankar and Parbati are made and worshipped, and at night *Akshad* is applied to the forehead. Akshad is made of rice and a red powder called kunkum mixed together. Lamps of clay are made. People keep up the whole night. Milk mixed with sugar is exposed to the moon-light till midnight, when after the worship is over, it is distributed to the members of the family and neighbours. The juice of the kernel of the cocoanut is also extracted and similarly distributed. The keeping up of the night is called kojargari.

The next festival is the grand festival of Diwali. It lasts for five days, commencing from the 14th day of the dark moon of the month of Aswin. Lakshmi is worshipped during these five days. New clothes are worn. Abhyanga bath is taken. The son-in-law is invited and entertained. On the second day of the festival, *gokridan* takes place, that is, cows are well-fed and decorated, as in the Polah, the bullocks are. People perfume themselves with attar and scented oil. Fireworks are burnt at night. On the third day sisters put Akshad on the foreheads of their brothers. (In 1896 this festival commenced on the 4th of November, and the Civil Courts were closed on the 25th, 26th and 27th October 1897 on account of this festival.)

The festival of the marriage of the tulsi plant with the image of Krishna takes place on the 12th day of the bright moon of the month of Kartick. The tulsi plant is placed under a covering of sugarcanes. A Brahmin performs the ceremony. Brahmins are fed and *pan supari* distributed. This festival took place on the 17th November 1896. In 1897 the Civil Courts were ordered to be closed on the 5th of November on account of Kartick Ekadasi, that is the day preceding that appointed for this festival.)

The next festival is called Kartick Sud Purnima. (It happened in 1896 on the 20th November.) In this festival the temples of Vishnu are illuminated at night. It is also called *Pándé Púnim*. A kshir (milk boiled with sugar) is prepared. It is called *panpit*.

The next festival is the Márgasirsha and purnima (which happened in 1896 on the 20th of December).

The next festival takes place on the fifth day of the dark

* The Civil Courts in the C. P. were also closed on the 5th of October 1897 on account of the Dasera. On the day of the Vijaya Dashami people go beyond the limits of their village towards the south as if on an expedition.

moon of the month of Márgasirsha. It is called Nag Dewe (It is happened in 1896 on the 25th December.) The next day is the Champa Sasthi, when the god Khandoba is worshipped and a fair is held in honour of that god.

The next festival is the Poos Sankrant also called the Sankramana. (In 1897 it took place on the 12th of January.) It is the day of the soubhagya brata of females. Females dress themselves tastefully and a sweet thing called *tilli* is prepared and distributed to friends and acquaintances. The *tilli* is made of a sesamum seed with a coating of sugar. I have received it from my Brahmin Maratha friends. Brahmins are fed. Females give presents to their friends of clothes, plates, &c. (The Civil Courts in 1897 remained closed in the Central Provinces on account of this festival on the 12th of January.)

On the 6th of February 1897 happened Wasant or Vasant panchami. The Civil Courts remained closed on that day. On the day of the Wasant Panchami which takes place on the fifth day of the bright moon of the month of Mágh, Vishnu, as well as every household god, is worshipped with the blossoms of the mangoe tree.

On the 1st of March 1897 occurred the festival called the Mahasiváratra. It happens on the fourteenth day of the dark moon of the month of Mágh.

The last festival in the year is the Holi which takes place on the day of the full moon of the month of Fálgoon. It took place (in 1897) on the 18th of March. The Civil Courts were closed on account of this festival on the 19th. In this festival Devi otherwise called Parbati is worshipped. The castor-oil plant is planted in the yard of a house and a heap of cow-dung cakes placed around it. After being worshipped the cow-dung cakes as well as the plant is burnt. People of every quarter or division of a town burn some fuel or cow-dung cakes in some street or market place or other public place close to their quarter. Processions pass the streets by day uttering obscene songs and words. Women do not walk in the streets that day for fear of being ill-treated. People amuse themselves with songs and music for several days both before and after the day appointed for the festival. It somewhat resembles the carnival of the Church of Rome.

The Hindus join in the amusements of the Moharam Festival of the Mahommedans: they spend money in getting up dancing parties who pass the streets along with the tajyas on the last day of that festival.

ART. VI.—ACROSS THE PELOPONESUS.

(Continued from April 1901, No. 225.)

II—BASSÆ.

"There is certainly nothing in Greece, beyond the bounds of Attica, more worthy of notice than these remains."

Leake. Morea II, pp. 8, 9.

THE sudden opening of the venetian shutters of our bed-room looking on to the balcony rouses us about 6 after excellent (and unmolested) slumbers to the quaint reality of Andritsæna and the glorious fact that Bassæ and the "Stelous" are within a three hours march.

Our morning wash, charmingly Homeric, but regrettably scanty, again takes place in the yard, presided over as before by Mrs. Leondarites with the hot water jug. It is amazing how far a little jug of water can be made to go on this plan. But the water is warm and a towel—a little like a dish-cloth it is true, yet a towel in intention and efficacy, is provided by our host on his own initiative: plainly Andritsæna is on the way to civilization. We glance round our surroundings with interest, and find the little courtyard more curious than ever in the grey morning light; still grey, for it takes the sun some time to climb over the ridge and look into Andritsæna. The yard is paved with rough stones. A round-headed doorway of low pitch leads from the house and a big wooden gate opens on to the staircase that communicates by a side alley with the main street.

We have to bustle for our guide is pledged to come for us at 7, and the sooner we are off the better. Breakfast is a little dilatory, served without much method in our small bed-room, and arriving in relays under escort of most of the family: first the coffee, thick with grounds after the fashion of the country, but by special request πικρὸν, *i. e.*, without sugar. Coffee in Greece is ordinarily brewed à la Turque and takes the form of a thick liquid paste nauseatingly sweet. We succeed in getting a little hot milk to drink with it and the result is fairly successful, except that we find the tiny cuds inadequate from the standpoint of the British breakfast-table. Then the bread, then some hard boiled eggs, and lastly cheese. The table equipage, though good of its kind, is limited. We start with exactly two plates and two spoons for all purposes. We diffidently hint a want. After considerable delay and much parley a single spoon makes its appearance, then a plate—then after an equal interval another, and so on till at length we succeed in collecting sufficient for our bare needs. Mrs. Leon-

darites gravitates between our breakfast table and the inner apartment sacred to culinary operations with an axiom countenance and a fractious infant. Master Leondarites, a chubby school-boy in a sort of uniform, it led in by his mother and presents a bunch of delicious-smelling violets The Leondarites household appears to consist—besides our host—of his wife, a comely matron in a western skirt, the chubby schoolboy, the plaintive babe aforesaid, and a rather dirty little girl, probably a nurse-maid. These all tend to hover round us at meal-times, which is apt to be the way in which an amiable sollicitude for the welfare of the guest is shown in primitive communities.

As our host's name is specially commended by Murray to the passing traveller, we are a little surprised at the evident unfamiliarity with western wants and habits, all the more so as we fare better later on at less frequented places.

And where and what is Bassæ? You need not blush, candid reader, if you do not know; but if it is ever your good fortune to voyage to Greece, you will be well advised to make every effort to get to Andritsæna and see for yourself. You will find a Greek temple, more perfect than any you have dreamed, of in an absolutely unique situation and amid surrounding that enhance to the utmost the romantic charm of the discovery. Bassæ—(Vassæ, be it noted, in the pronunciation of the modern Greek) though the British Museum possesses the frieze that once adorned its temple, is not familiar to the ordinary student of the classics, like Mycenæ or Corinth, or Delphi or Olympia. No town of classical fame is found there, and Phigaleia, whose inhabitants built the temple (whence the name *Phigaleian* given to the 'marbles' in the British Museum) is obscure even among the second-rate cities of the Peloponnese. Moreover, it is difficult to come at, not to be attained without fatigue and hardship, fully exemplifying the principle χάλεπα τὰ καλά. It is most accessible from Olympia and Andritsæna, by the way we came (not without toil and sweat,*) from Kalamata or Sparta it would be even a more arduous undertaking. Yet any enthusiastic Grecian who has admired the beautiful frieze in the British Museum and has happed upon photographs of the temple either in the Phigaleian Room or elsewhere, must surely be stirred with a vehement desire to see Bassæ. Personally we have to thank Mr. E. F. Benson and a striking scene in his fascinating novel '*The Vintage*' for the final stimulus which prompted us to make Bassæ one of

* Wheler, earliest of English travellers in modern Greece (1676), writes concerning a certain hill in Phocis "which although it cost me no small quantity of the sweat of my brows; yet I found it well worth my pains" Wheler. A journey into Greece. Bk. VI, p. 468.

the starred events in our programme. In fact, the chance of seeing Bassæ had been one of the chief inducements which led us to strike into the unknown from Olympia instead of taking the train to Athens. It was therefore with no small feeling of elation that we found ourselves descending the further side of the ridge, on which nestle the four townships that form Andritsæna, fairly on the road to Bassæ.

We slip through a break in the ridge and begin to descend behind Andritsæna, passing two or three cisterns by the roadside which show that the water-supply of Andritsæna has not been neglected. It is delightfully cool, even chilly between 7 and 8 this April morning, and we actually find ice at one or two places where water trickles across the road. We have hardly cleared the town when we fall in with a soldier in full kit who straightway attaches himself to us. He, too, it appears, is for the "Stelous," and we are divided in opinion whether he has joined himself to us of set purpose, or is merely patrolling the hills on his regular beat. If the former it is further debateable in what sense he has come to 'look after' us; whether to protect the "antiquities" from the rapacious hands of the tourist, or safeguard his precious person in these wild hills. As our escort subsequently leaves us in full possession of the temple and the prospect, it appears probable that the encounter to which we are indebted for his company is merely accidental. He proves useful, however, as he is seemingly more familiar with the ground than our guide and more than once overrules him as to our track.

Bassæ is almost due South of Andritsæna. We are soon out in grand open mountain scenery following the line of a long ridge, scantily wooded, which, as it lies between us and the east, keeps us for a time in shade. We cross a succession of mountain torrents, one coming down a picturesque ravine with a considerable flow of water. The scenery is on an ample scale, and as rugged or more rugged than anything we passed through yesterday. There is not much vegetation; a few stunted trees on the hill-side, mostly Turkey oaks, and a certain amount of scrub undergrowth. Wild flowers, however, are in plenty, especially violets and a sort of bluebell. Before long we are climbing again and feeling the strength of the sun-god for whose shrine we are bound. The path is as rough as ever and it is stiff work. Our party is straggling along in Indian file, the guide and the soldier ahead, when all at once the latter leaves the path and begins hurriedly climbing the steep slope on the left, his rifle conveniently at the ready. We watch his proceedings with interest. It appears, however, he has only caught sight of two small boys unlawfully cutting wood on the hill-side. He captures their

axes and returns with the boys and their donkeys as prisoners of war. One boy has managed to get his finger cut, perhaps in a struggle for the axes. We are inclined to feel sorry for the boys who are very small and very rueful, but as wood seems scarce, doubtless a little strictness is necessary. They are soon let go with a caution.

After a hot climb our path turns abruptly to the left and we skirt an immense ravine whose sides are great open slopes, on which multitudinous sheep and goats are feeding, both above and below. The scenery which has been rough and stern thus far, is softer here and the bells tinkle melodiously. The dogs bay deep and fierce as we go by. On the further side we find a welcome spring of cool water and drink gratefully and are refreshed. After this we climb once more by an even steeper and ruggeder path. We twist round deeper into the mountains which begin to hem us in. We seem to be making for a dip in a long ridge that lies right ahead of us. Somewhat more to the right is a big grey summit. We climb this ridge-wall, go over it, and, descending a little come suddenly in view of ranged columns; and the temple is before us.

The temple of Apollo at Bassæ is, of course, a ruin. Gaunt it stands and open to the winds of heaven, its roof and all its upper structure and pediments, triglyhs, frieze and metopes, and all that stood above the architrave, gone: gone, too, its shrine, its inner walls and compartments, and all that they contained, all that made it distinctively a place of worship, save for the broken fragments that strew its pavements and some scanty remains of the walls of the cella. But for a ruin it is wonderfully complete. Of the thirty-eight external pillars originally surrounding it, thirty-five still stand, and of the blocks of stone that formed the architrave, two and two alongside each other from pillar to pillar, nearly all are in their places. The pillars have suffered most at the southern end, which is exposed, the northern end being sheltered by the slope of the hill. Two other pillars are rather clumsily strengthened with clamps and boards, and one column on the west side is propped up in an unsightly manner with scaffolding. Otherwise the tale of pillars is complete externally, and as we shift our position in making the circuit of the temple, we get perspective views of the rows of columns in inexhaustible variety. Here on the open hill-side in the solitude of great mountains, with a bold sweeping landscape on three sides, and no other company than the lizards and the tinkling sheep-bells far down on the lower steeps, one may enjoy moments of deep and intense experience that outweigh whole years of the humdrum of ordinary existence.

And what a view it is that is offered to the eye from this

place! Looking out upon it from a vantage point a little higher on the ridge, the temple of Apollo is forgotten and we are merged in the mere prospect of mountain, sea and sky, majestically sleeping limestone ridges, line beyond line, with glimpses of snowy mountains through the gaps, and far away to the south and to the west the effulgent blue of the waters that lap the coasts of Greece. We are ourselves on the back of an open ridge and mountain ridges hem us in all round. Behind to the N.-W. the wall over which we have climbed dominated by the grey summit, Mt. Kotilium, closes up and shuts out any further view. More to the E. of N. the heights of Central Arcadia rise massively: through a small dip in the far distance a bit of snow-white Chelmos still peeps up. Eastward we look over long ranges of rocky hills, which separate us from the valley of the Alpheus and the plain of Megalopolis. To the right (westward) there is a rapid descent, and through the gap we see a beautiful little stretch of coast with the sea a very deep blue beyond. But it is the view to the southward, which opened before us as we came over the ridge, that first riveted our eyes, and 'that draws' them back and holds them fixed. Truly a wonderful and entrancing prospect. Straight in front through a big dip in the hills lies a long stretch of comparatively flat country, reaching to the curve of the Gulf of Corone on the very verge of sight: on either side of the gulf the hills rise again and stretch further than our eyes can follow; on the right the hills of the Pylian land right down to C. Gallo, on the left past Kalamata the high-lands of Maina dimly out towards Tænarum. Nearer to the S.-E there is a very big mass of hills with four distinct peaks, called Tetrasi in modern Greek (hiding somewhere Eira, the stronghold of Aristomenes); and through the breaks in this can be seen the long snowy stretch of Taygetus. In the very centre of this magnificent landscape, due south and in the middle distance, one object particularly arrests attention, a bold, square-shouldered, flat-topped hill, standing up steep and conspicuous above the Messenian plain. This is Ithome, long held stubbornly by the Messenians in the war in which they first forfeited their freedom, and again seized by the revolted Helots in 464 B. C. and kept for nine years in defiance of all the efforts of Sparta. Messenia does not usually fill much space in the mind of the student of Grecian history, yet there are few more romantic chapters in history than the stories of the two sieges of Ithome and the heroic exploits of Aristomenes of Eira.* Of even more curious interest, though it almost escapes notice

* Alas that so much of these stories must be given up as *history* and fairly made over to *romance*!

amid events of larger consequence, is the return of the Messenian exiles to their ancient home at the invitation of Epaminondas, their language, manners, traditions quite unchanged by 300 years of exile. The walls of Messene, the city they founded in B. C. 370, still stand in good preservation in the plain under Ithome, with towers and a wonderful gateway. It had been in our hopes to have plunged down into the ravine below Bassæ, crossed Tetrasi to Bogazi, and thence made our way by Messene to the railway and Kalamata, but we were reluctantly brought to the conclusion that this could not be. It was tantalizing to look fairly over the country from this vantage ground and realize that we might not enter it.

The temple at Bassæ, though not a sight which has many associations for the scholar, has very much of interest to the archæologist. The temple itself stands N. and S. instead of E. and W. "For this remarkable deviation from the rule that Greek temples lie east and west, no more recondite reason need be sought than the nature of the ground." (Frazer Pausanias IV, p. 395.) Indeed, even so it was necessary to "widen the ridge artificially by constructing a platform about twenty-two feet broad along its western edge" (Ib.). The stone of which it is built is the grey lime-stone of these mountains, but is suffused in places with a reddish tinge due to the growth of a 'delicate pink lichen.' The shrine is at the northern, the back chamber at the southern end, the latter occupying about one-third of the walled space. There are broad porticoes north and south each fronted by a couple of inner pillars. The pavement has sunk considerably below the original level, especially in the centre.

From the walls of the cella on either side project cross-walls or buttresses like those of which we find traces in the Heræum at Olympia; but here they are actually standing. These buttresses terminate in the form of Ionic columns. The first pair at the S. end slope inwards at an angle from the wall. Between them stood a single marble column of the *Corinthian* order twenty feet six inches high exactly at the division between the cella and the back chamber. The most remarkable feature of all remains to be mentioned. The cella has an additional doorway on the E. side. "The only plausible explanation of this archæological anomaly is that the existing temple, facing north and south, had replaced an older and smaller temple which, in accordance with Greek custom, faced east and west; and that when the large new temple was in compliance with the exigencies of the site built facing north and south, the religious prejudices of the worshippers required that the image of the God should still

face eastward, and that accordingly the architect was obliged to open a doorway in the eastern wall through which the worshippers might see and approach their deity as before. We must therefore suppose that the image of Apollo stood in this inmost part of the *cella* with its back to the west wall and its face to the eastern doorway" (Frazer IV, p. 899).

Time passes swiftly in the happy survey of these details, in the attempt to reconstruct in thought the parts of the temple and speculations on the meaning of the grooves visible in many blocks, some in position, some displaced. The temple was brought to its present state at the time of the discovery of the frieze by Mr. Cockerell and his party in 1812. When Leake saw it a few years earlier the interior was a jumble of fallen masonry of which he writes: "Indeed until some attempt be made to clear away the remains of the cell, which form an immense confused mass within the peristyle, it will hardly be possible even for an architect to understand thoroughly all the particulars of the buildings." When ultimately the pavement was cleared, the stones and fragments were scattered over the slope of the hill where they may be seen and studied today. The original discovery of the temple itself was made accidentally in 1765 by a French architect named Joachim Bocher while on a journey from Pyrgo to Karitena.*

Its identification we owe to Pausanias, who briefly describes the temple of Apollo reared by the Phigaleians on Mt. Kotilium. "Kotilium," he says, "is about forty stades distant from the city: therein is a place called Bassæ and the temple of Apollo the Helper, both the temple and its roof of stone." "Without those few words," Leake remarks* (Morea II. p. 3) "the existence of such a magnificent building in such a wilderness, must ever have remained a subject of wonder, doubt and discussion." Even as it is there is much room for wonder at the beauty of the temple and its odd situation. Leake himself writes: "That which forms, on reflection, the most striking circumstance of all is the nature of the surrounding country, capable of producing little else than pasture for cattle and offering no conveniences for the display of commercial industry either by sea or land. If it excites our astonishment that the inhabitants of such a district should have had the refinement to delight in works of this kind, it is still more wonderful that they should have had the means to

* "His design was to examine an ancient building near Caritena. He was still remote from that place, when he perceived a ruin, two hours from Vervizza, which prevented his going any further. The ruin, called 'The Columns,' stands on an eminence sheltered by lofty mountains." Chandler, vol. II ch. LXXVII. p, 333.

execute them. This can only be accounted for by what Horace says of the early Romans:

Privatus illis census erat brevis
Commune magnum.

This is the true secret of national power, which cannot be equally effective in an age of selfish luxury" (Morea II, p. 9).

Naturally also we should like to know when, and under what circumstances, the temple was built. Pausanias asserts that the architect was Ictinus, the builder of the Parthenon. But how the men of insignificant Phigaleia came to employ so famous a master, and what was the occasion of their building a temple which Pausanias pronounces the handsomest of all the temples of the Peloponnese after one at Tegea 'both for the beauty of the stone and for its shapeliness'—these things are for us inscrutable. For Pausanias' account of the matter that it commemorates the deliverance of Phigaleia from plague, and that plague a sequel of the plague of Athens in 430 B. C. is too improbable to be easily accepted. Thucydides expressly tells us the Peloponnesus suffered very little. As to the suggestion that it is a thank-offering for the affliction with which the enemy, Athens, was smitten—that is too abominable to be believed without other proof than mere ingenuity of conjecture. This is, in fact, one of the cases where our best wisdom is to acquiesce in ignorance. The temple itself is a solid fact—and an admirable; that must be enough for us.

That so much more of it survives than of more famous buildings is, doubtless due to the reasons Leake suggests: the loneliness of its situation, the difficulty of the country for the purposes of transport, and consequently the absence of temptation to turn the ruin into a quarry. Such damage as has been done is probably due to earthquakes, which have occurred at one time or another all over Greece. Leake says: "The preservation of all parts of the temple shows that the ruins have never been plundered for the sake of building materials: Indeed there is little temptation to transport these immense masses over such mountains as surround them, nor even to break them into smaller stones, by which barbarous process many other Hellenic remains have been destroyed, for there is no inhabited place nearer than Sklirú, a small village, distant about one mile, on a part of the mountain where the ground is a little more level than in most other parts, and where alone there seems any possibility of cultivating corn" (Morea II, p. 8).

We turn away from Bassæ and the south and start back regretfully as the afternoon begins to wane. Many places in these rough hill-sides are sown with corn; there was even a scanty crop springing up among the scatttered stones imme-

diately about the temple, thus falsifying Leake's accounts of the barrenness of the hills (v. supra) and testifying to a real advance of the Peloponnese in prosperity since his time. It is wonderful how the Greek highlander avails himself in these better times of every little shelf and crease in the hill-side, and there is hardly any slope too steep for the Greek plough. We satisfy ourselves as to certain circular platforms levelled and paved with stone and set in convenient places on the ridge which we had marked on the way up. They are as we conjectured 'threshing-floors,' and the Greek word which our guide uses in answer to our enquiry is "ἁλωνες." We notice several of these, and this confirms the impression that these rough hills are now cultivated to good purpose.

Some little way down we meet a splendid specimen of the Messenian mountaineer; a handsome strapping fellow, six feet or more tall, with a well-turned leg, admirably set off by the tight fitting white stocking and fustanella. There is an old man with him somewhat shrivelled who serves as a good foil. To see this young Greek step up the hill-side, springy and graceful as a deer, was a sight for gods and men. He was dark, with coal-black hair and eyes, and well-cut features; and he held his head with a fine grace. Along with his good looks and gay clothes he has the fine courtesy of the men of his country, and greets us with the friendliness one soon learns to expect from all who pass on the road in Greece. We sit and talk for a bit in monosyllables and exchange tobacco and cigarettes—or to be quite precise, he and his companion smoke our cigarettes while we fill our pipes with his tobacco.

The march, back, being mainly down, is less laborious than the mornings climb and as the soft evening light draws on becomes more and more beautiful. The dogs renew their wrathful clamour as we pass again,—these are particularly big and fierce—and bay furiously round Socrates, when he leaves us and walks up the slope to get speech of the shepherd. We, for our part, still cherish a respect for them (which wears off a good deal in the course of the next three weeks); but Socrates saunters on indifferent, while they growl and snarl at his heels. Perhaps after all the dressed Greek watch-dog is own cousin to the village dogs of the East, all bark and no bite. At all events the bark of the Greek sheep-dog is remarkably fine.

H. R. J.

ART. VII.—ERIN'S SLAIN.

1

Now, with the dawn of a new reign,
In hope that fate is turning
From dark to bright, 'mid mounds that keep
Our Martyrs' memories green,
The spirits of our slain arise,
For brighter noondays yearning,
A noble band with bearing proud
They stand distinctly seen,

2

No ghastly squalid spectres they
But proper forms and stately,
Dawn's roseate splendours undulate
Around them like a veil,
From heaven the slowly waning stars
Look down on them sedately,
The mists of morn around their brows
In wreaths of victory sail.

3

"Now, when the wife for husband mourns
"On couch by memories haunted,
"Now, when the mother weeps for son
"Far on the lone veldt slain,
"And maid for lover, from the grave
"We rise with hearts undaunted
"Seeking our well-loved wee dark rose
"To look on her again.

4

"On others, darling Roseen dhu
"Bestow thy smiles, but never
"Ah never can the dead forget
"What they on earth loved best,

"Our Lady thou, the champions of
"Thy name are we for ever,
"We on thy Tara of the Kings
"Must triumph ere we rest."

5

"As in the miry pathway
"Before his queen and lady
"His silken mantle fair the knight
"Laid down on bended knee,
"Our lives we laid down freely
"In thy service ever ready,
"Thou wilt not live unmindful of
"Those lives laid down for thee.

6

"For truest of the true thou art
"As sure thou art the fairest,
"Though blackened by the wintry blast
"Thou bloomest ever new,
"Our own dark rose our dear dark rose
"The sweetest and the rarest,
"Lives there thy peer on all gods earth,
"Our Lady, Roseen dhu?

7

"Oh dry those sweet dark grey-blue eyes,
"Let smiles replace thy weeping,
"Soon wilt thou stand 'fore all the world
"In robe of emerald green,
"The feast of thy new union
"With Albion blithely keeping,
"With helm on hair and glaive at side
"In all men's eyes a queen.

8

"Thy holy delicate white hands
"Shall gird with steel thy chosen

"True knights, who fly to do thy best
"By every sea and shore,
"From where around the icy poles
"The air burns keen and frozen
"To where the equatorial suns
"With heat rays smite full sore.

9

"Ready to sink in deepest mine,
"To scale of hills the highest,
"To wing the unstable air, to dive
"Deep under ocean blue
"Just for one smile, one smile such as,
"Dark Rose, thou ne'er deniest
"To thy true sons to lift their hearts
"Thou peerless Roseen dhu.

10

"Strong Albion's Seventh Edward,
"Forget not, oh forget not
"How strove that great Plantagenet,
"First of thine honored name,
"To weld these islands into one
"Great Empire.—If thou let not
"Thy hand fail to complete the work
"How great shall be thy fame!

11

"But iron chains will never hold
"A race of such free spirit
"As Erin rears, the bands of love
"Not links of galling chain
"Must bind our rose to Albion's rose,
"Then let it be thy merit
"To join the sisters hand and heart
"Under thy prosperous reign.

12

"To join in one great union
"England, Wales, Scotland, Erin
"With Britain's oversea, Australia,
"Canada;—Then may
"Our legions face the world in arms
"Beholding nought to fear in
"Its banded anarchs starkest might
"In their most fell array."

13

The vision fades as fades a wreath
Of light cloud from the heaven,
But fading leaves in Erin's sons
Hearts that for hope beat high,
Up morning's slopes the sun bright steeds
Through fiery flare are driven,—
Is it in vain that Erin's sons
Fare forth to do or die?

M. R. WELD.

[And lo! the Knight of industry
From the sham-jewel making city,
Its choicest gem, the glinting glass
Screwed in his eye grows dim.
Quoth he "should the dawn illume my deeds
Too fully 'twere a pity,
But bah! I'll worm through as before
So agile I and slim."
("Joe" is the vulgar traducer of Ireland.)

ED., *C. R.*]

ART. VIII.—BISHOP BERKELEY'S IMMATERIAL PHILOSOPHY.*

IT is now nearly forty years since Professor Campbell Fraser first called attention to the philosophical works of Bishop Berkeley. In an article on "The Real World of Berkeley" which he published in *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1862, followed by one contributed two years later to *The North British Review*, he pointed out the importance for contemporary thought of the philosophy of that great but neglected and misunderstood thinker. During the years that have elapsed since then he has continued to be the interpreter of Berkeley and the expounder of his ideas. In 1871 he edited Berkeley's complete works for the Clarendon Press, and it is not too much to say that the publication of that work has led to a truer appreciation of the philosophy of Berkeley than ever obtained before. His volume of "Selections from Berkeley" which appeared a few years later introduced his students, as they passed in hundreds through his class to the fascinations of Berkeleyan idealism, while his little book on "Berkeley" in Blackwood's series of "Philosophic Classics" performed the same office for many readers who were but little likely to attempt the writings of Berkeley unaided. And now in his eighty-second year Professor Fraser—now worthily "Emeritus"—has given us in this handsome work what is likely to be the definitive edition of Bishop Berkeley's works.

There is in this edition but little from Berkeley's pen that was not contained in the edition of 1871; still, as Professor Fraser says, this edition is really a new work. The introductions that are prefixed to each of Berkeley's treatises, and the instructive annotations and elucidations have been for the most part re-written, and some interesting appendices have been added. Further, a short life is prefixed which gives at the same time a more connected view of the Bishop's teaching as a whole than the separate introductions supply. In the introductions and the biography use is made of new material that has become available since the publication of the *Life and Letters* that accompanied the edition of 1871. One

*The works of George Berkeley, D.D., formerly Bishop of Cloyne, including his Posthumous Works, with prefaces, annotations, appendices, and an account of his Life by Alexander Campbell Fraser, Hon. D.C.L., Oxford, Hon. LL.D., Glasgow and Edinburgh; Emeritus, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. In four volumes. Price twenty-four shillings. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press, 1901.

feature of this new edition is the arrangement of the works. The first three volumes contain the Philosophical Works arranged in chronological order beginning with the *Commonplace Book* written in 1705-8 and ending with *Siris* and the writings to which it gave rise. The fourth volume contains Berkeley's Miscellaneous Works also arranged in chronological order. The first volume is furnished with a portrait of the benevolent-looking Bishop and with pictures of his house in Rhode Island and his favourite retreat near the sea; and two or three quaint illustrations that appeared in the original works are reproduced. The division into four volumes makes the work a convenient one to handle, and the Clarendon Press has, as usual, done everything that could be desired to make its appearance worthy of its contents.

It has been the lot of many great thinkers to be misunderstood, but few have been so systematically and persistently misunderstood as Berkeley. The popular idea was, and still is, that he taught that all external objects are as unreal as the fancies of a dream, and that the whole perceived world of external things is a delusion which has its existence only in our own minds. Dr. Johnson, for example, thought he had refuted Berkeley when in his own rough way he kicked a stone out of his path with the remark "That is matter," and an eminent Scottish divine was said to have been cured of Berkeleyanism owing to his head having come violently into collision with a bed-post. Wherein the popular mistake consists will best be seen by a short account of what Berkeley really held.

Berkeley's doctrine is expounded and developed by him in his different treatises. The chief of these, taking them in chronological order are *An Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision*, *A Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Conduct*, *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous*, *Alciphron; or the Minute Philosopher*, and *Siris*. In his *Commonplace Book* which he began at the age of twenty in 1705, and which was first published in 1871 the germs of his new ideas are to be found, but it was in his *Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Conduct* published in 1710 that he first gave a systematic account of his philosophy, *The Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision* which had appeared in the previous year, having been preparatory thereto. When Berkeley made known his "new principle" he was set down by some, who probably had never read his works, as insane, and most of those who admitted his sanity attributed the publication of his treatises to no higher motive than the love of paradox. It was, however, from no love of paradox that these treatises were written. Berkeley lived at a time when physical science

was making great advances and he saw, what has often happened since, that there is a danger that men may be so impressed by the powers attributed to matter as to be led into materialism—the belief that matter is the all-sufficient cause of everything in the universe. He was deeply impressed with the conviction that materialism is the root of scepticism and atheism and does away with all moral power in the universe, and he set himself therefore to show that so far from mind being a function of matter the world of sensible phenomena is really dependent upon mind for its existence. He maintained that we have no evidence of the existence of the "matter" which was popularly endowed with such great powers, that its existence was a mere hypothesis, and was moreover an unnecessary hypothesis. In opposition to the views generally held he taught the doctrine of immaterialism, and maintained that spirit and not any inert matter was the underlying cause of phenomena.

The theory of perception is as it were the seed from which Berkeley's doctrine of immaterialism sprung. To understand his immaterialism, therefore we must notice his theory of perception. What then takes place when I perceive an object? When I perceive an apple I am conscious of certain sensations of resistance, colour, smell, etc. All that I am conscious of is sensations or as Berkeley calls them ideas. Sensible objects therefore are bundles or clusters of sensations or as we should call them now-a-days phenomena. As such, they are, Berkeley argued, dependent for their existence on sentient mind. Here it was that he joined issue with other philosophers. They admitted that there are certain qualities of matter such as colour which are dependent for their existence on sentient mind, but maintained that there were certain other qualities such as extension and form which have an actual independent existence apart from mind. There is thus according to these philosophers an inert material substance unperceived and unperceiving which possesses two kinds of qualities one secondary and depending on mind for their existence, the other primary and having an independent existence. This unphenomenal "something we know not what," as Locke calls it, is the matter the existence of which Berkeley denied, and the non-existence of which he sought to prove by trying to show that the so-called primary qualities may be resolved into the secondary qualities which it is admitted are dependent on sentient mind for their existence. To revert to the illustration of the apple the difference between Berkeley and those whom he opposed may be put thus. If we took away from an apple one "sensation" after another the materialist—to use the word in a Berkeleyan

sense—would say that something would be left. There would be a sub-stratum of matter left, the real apple, the peg so to speak on which all these sensations were hung. Berkeley on the other hand would hold that nothing would be left, as the thought of matter without qualities is inconceivable. Material substance, he held, is "a meaningless abstraction," and there is insensible things nothing we can realise except the phenomena presented to our senses. Take them away and we know of nothing remaining.

While Berkeley thus held the non-existence of the philosophical abstraction matter, it must not be supposed that he regarded sensible phenomena as really non-existent or as existing without a sufficient cause. They exist but they are dependent, he held, not on matter of which we know nothing but on mind or spirit which we know from our own consciousness does exist. In the consciousness of our voluntary activity we become conscious of the power which we have denied to matter and by our belief in the orderliness of nature we are led to a belief in an external power higher than, though of the same kind as, our own. This power, spirit or mind, is what sustains and causes the phenomena of sense. The phenomena of nature are the significant signs of the supreme spirit and they are intelligible to us because they are the outcome not of dead, inert matter; but of living, intelligent mind. To quote Professor Fraser: "The material world of Berkeley is just what the senses present: all in it beyond this belongs to the world of mind, which converts the presented phenomena into a language that is expressive of absent sense—phenomena, of other finite spirits, and of the all-pervading Reason that is supreme and absolute. * * * Our security for the reality of the Berkeleyan external world is thus inevitable assumption that nature is reasonable; that its phenomena express thought akin to our own; that it is more or less interpretable by us in progressive physical or natural science; and that even in the world of the senses we are living and moving and having our being in the supreme all-pervading Reason, theologically called God.

Berkeley's "new principle," whatever we may think of its truth in its fully-developed form, was thus no paradox put forward to secure notoriety for its propounder, nor was it the mere fancy of a visionary. Its promulgation was in fact a call to reality, a summons to philosophers to investigate the sources of knowledge and to see whether they had ground in reason for their ascription of potency to inert matter or even for their belief in its existence. Misunderstood though he was by many, his life has, as Professor Fraser says, "been one of the principal forces in modern philosophy." The way

in which it has been so is perhaps not one that Berkeley himself would have wished. His object was mainly religious, to show that the world of sense phenomena is not produced by matter but is the language of God speaking to our spirits. David Hume, however, used Berkeley's "new principle" in a way its author would have considered unwarrantable, and broke up spirit into a succession of isolated feelings, and Hume has been followed in this generally by the English empirical school of philosophy. It was Hume's distortion of Berkeleyanism that gave rise by way of opposition to the Scottish "common-sense" philosophy and to the criticism of Kant—the starting point of most modern philosophy. Thus to quote Professor Fraser again, it is "a fact of history that Berkeley has employed the modern philosophical world in a struggle, virtually about his new conception of the universe, which has lasted for nearly two hundred years."

Apart altogether from his philosophy Berkeley is one of the most interesting figures in the first half of the eighteenth century. Born in Kilkenny in 1685, he entered Trinity College, Dublin, at the early age of fifteen, and in 1707 was admitted to a Fellowship there. His *Commonplace Book* begun at the age of twenty, gives ample evidence of the activity of his mind, for, as has been mentioned, it contains the germs of the new ideas he was to give the world. His *Essay on Vision* was published when he was twenty-four and his *Principles of Human Knowledge* a year later. In 1712 Berkeley who had just written his *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous* resolved to visit London "to make acquaintance with men of merit," and having obtained leave of absence he crossed the Channel early in 1713. In London he soon made the acquaintance of that famous group of thinkers and writers which has gained for the reign of Anne its literary fame as "the Augustan Age of English Literature." He seems to have possessed great personal charm, and he soon numbered among his friends such distinguished men as Pope, Swift, Addison and Steele. Some of those he met then became life-long friends, and Pope writing twenty years afterwards ascribed in one of his poems "to Berkeley—every virtue under heaven."

The next few years were spent for the most part in foreign travel. On his return to England in 1721 he was seized with an idea which dominated his life for the next ten years. The collapse of the South Sea Bubble with its attendant misery made him take a very gloomy view of the condition of Great Britain. He began to fear that society was hopelessly corrupt, and his views found expression in *An Essay Towards Preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*. But Berkeley

was no mere prophet of evil but an eager social reformer, and the idea now took possession of him that the best way of reforming the old world might be by the foundation of a Christian Empire in America—"Time's noblest offspring." It is in his *Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America* that the oft-quoted line occurs "Westward the course of Empire takes its way." Berkeley, who was now Dean of Derby, devised a curious plan for the accomplishment of this great enterprise. He proposed to establish a College in Bermuda, "for the better supplying of churches in our Foreign Plantations and for converting the Savage Americans to Christianity." His idea was that in this College the English youth of America might be educated to become pastors, and that similarly a number of the young North American Indians might be educated to become missionaries to their savage fellow-countrymen. The Bermudas are six hundred miles from the American coast, but Berkeley fixed on them partly be ause Waller and Marvell had described them as regions of idyllic bliss and partly for the more practical reason that they were in constant communication with different parts of the American continent. He persuaded several able young clergymen to join him in his project, and such was his charm and his persuasive power that he obtained a Charter for his College and the promise of a grant of £20,000 from Parliament. In 1728 Berkeley sailed for Rhode Island which became his home for the next three years. Whether his College would have been a success it is impossible to say, for the promised grant was never paid and Berkeley returned to England in 1731. But though he failed in carrying out his scheme, no one can fail to admire the self-sacrificing enthusiasm of Berkeley, which prompted him to give up his career in the Irish Church and made him ready to bury himself for the rest of his life in a little island in the Atlantic. Nor was his self-sacrifice without result, for his life in Rhode Island exerted an influence in many beneficial ways. An American author writes—"By ways different from those intended by Berkeley, and in ways more manifold that he could have dreamed, he has since accomplished, and through all coming time, by a thousand ineffaceable influences, he will continue to accomplish, some portion at least of the influences which he had aimed at in the founding of his university. It is the old story over again; the tragedy of a Providence wiser than man's foresight; God giving the victory to His faithful servant even through the bitterness of overruling him and defeating him." Whitehall—the home near Newport which he built for himself—is still piously cared for, and when a memorial to Berkeley was

lately placed in his Cathedral of Cloyne the subscriptions for its erection came largely from America.

Berkeley's literary activity did not cease while he was in America, for it was in Rhode Island that he wrote his longest work *Alciphron ; or the Minute Philosopher*. 'A minute philosopher' meant in the language of that time a free-thinker, and *Alciphron* besides being a developed exposition of Berkeley's philosophy is an attack on the scepticism then so prevalent, and a defence of Christianity. It is sometimes forgotten both by the friends and the opponents of Christianity that at the time when Berkeley wrote, unbelief was so widespread and so fashionable that it was possible for Bishop Butler to write in the advertisement of his *Analogy* that it had come "to be taken for granted that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry ; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious." In *Alciphron* Berkeley maintained that Christian thinking is true free-thinking and that Christian faith is wisdom in its highest form. Professor Fraser ranks *Alciphron* with Butler's *Analogy* and the *Pensées* of Pascal as "memorable works of the eighteenth and the preceding century in the religious philosophy of Europe."

Two years after his return from America Berkeley was nominated to the Bishopric of Cloyne in the south of Ireland. There he spent the next eighteen years of his life in the work of his diocese, and there he wrote *Siris*, the work which contains the culmination of his thought. In 1752 he resolved to retire to Oxford to enjoy there in the evening of his days the "life academico-philosophical" which he had hoped to find in his Bermuda College. He left Cloyne that autumn but did not long enjoy his well-earned rest, for he died in Oxford in 1753 and was buried there in the Cathedral of Christ Church.

Berkeley's idealism and his enthusiasm for his Bermuda Mission have given the impression to some that he was a visionary, a dreamer of dreams. His metaphysic, however, certainly does not warrant his being so regarded ; and as for his College scheme, though Bermuda may have been a mistaken choice, his idea was a sound one, and since his time the importance of education as a missionary agency has been fully recognised. He was a dreamer in the sense in which all great men are, a man of large and noble ideals, which it might not be possible for him to realise. But he was at the same time a practical man of keen observation who did not allow fancies or wishes to conceal realities from him. This is well seen in his miscellaneous works. The notes of the sermons he delivered in Newport show that his preaching was of the most practical nature, while the journal of

his journey in Italy in 1717 and 1718 reveals him as an acute and intelligent observer. Perhaps most interesting of all, however, is *The Querist*, a publication in which Berkeley put forward more than 800 queries dealing with social, economic and religious questions, especially with reference to Ireland. Some of these queries show considerable humour, as when he asks "whether a tax upon dirt would not be one way of encouraging industry?" They are chiefly interesting, however, as showing the problems which struck Berkeley as being of special importance in his time. Some of the problems are still awaiting solution, but some have been dealt with if not solved by modern political economy. It is a testimony to Berkeley's practical mind and keen insight that, as Professor Fraser says, "some of its pregnant suggestions anticipate leading doctrines" of Turgot and Adam Smith.

Enough has been said to show that Berkeley was one of the most remarkable men of the first-half of the eighteenth century, and that he well deserves the tribute that has been paid to him through the zeal and labour of Professor Fraser. His originality as a thinker and his literary style cannot fail to continue to interest men in his works, and when in his writings they recognise his wide-hearted philanthropy, his singleness of mind, and his charm of character, they can be no less attracted by the man than they have been interested in the philosopher.

E. M. McPHAIL, B. D.

ART. IX.—IN THE MAGALIESBERG A YEAR AGO.

BY A TROOPER OF LUMSDEN'S HORSE.

I.—*On the road to Rustruburg.*

IAN HAMILTON'S division sallied forth from Pretoria on August 1st a year ago, and one of his Brigadiers was Colonel Mahon, and in Colonel Mahon's brigade rode Lumsden's Horse in the best of company, to wit the Imperial Light Horse and M. battery, R. H. A. Traversing the Dasport pass we came along in extended order under the shadow of the Magaliesberg, and soon heard sound of fighting ahead—gun, rifle and pom-pom fire. But we were rearguard. The results, however, were nothing great,—the Boers got away as usual. We are not told whose fault it was. Either Hamilton is too soon or Mahon too late. We go on just the same. Our way lay through a magnificent valley, covered by a low bush and studded with white daisy-like flowers, well-watered, and to all appearances extremely fertile, yet of cultivation there was but little. We passed in the course of the day glorious orange groves, and filled ourselves and everything we had—wallets, haversacks, nosebags, etc., with the splendid fruit. There were oranges of all sorts, hard-skinned, loose-skinned and tangerine. It was very noticeable how much warmer this valley was than elsewhere in the Transvaal. In most places oranges will not grow at all. 'Some Australians, whom we met later, said they did not think there was such another valley in the world. On we trekked without much excitement though ever on the look out for an attack, this part being infested with Boers.

We learnt our destination was Rustenburg, whither we were going to release Baden-Powell, who was shut up there. Alarms were frequent, and several times we got the order, "For dismounted duty," when we handed our horses over to the number threes. Once, when we could hear sharp firing all around, even climbing to the top of the Magaliesberg; and though not a shot was fired, and nothing more formidable than a baboon was seen, the climb was so precipitous that some fellows thought it one of the 'hottest' engagements they had been in. That night after we had turned in there was an alarm. We awoke and found everyone running wildly about, some to their horses, some to their saddles, some to their kit, and found the cause of it all was the grass was burning furiously and bearing down on our camp.

The grass was long here, and evidently having been allowed to catch on the leeward side of the camp, the fire had circled

round to windward. However, after sometime it was got under by men with blankets, and very picturesque the lines of fire looked as it burnt away and up the hills, reminding us much of similar fires on the grass hills in India. Another day we were on guard on a hill while the convoy was crossing a river, when Boers were reported in a farm-house not far off. We fixed bayonet and stalked it, but when we got there,—it turned out to be a collection of wagons and tents,—we found one man only, and he seemed sick unto death, and several women and children and donkeys, and great store of poultry, which however being protected by women only, we forbore to loot. It was evidently a favourite place of retreat, as there were signs of a number of people having encamped there, and it was admirably concealed among the trees. So marching all day, and often on outlying picket all night, we reached Rustenburg on the 5th. Several of the farm-houses, of which there were all too few, were burnt, being found to contain forage, ammunition, or to form a shelter to the wily Boer. So well concealed was the ammunition that it was frequently only when the flames mounted high that the ammunition came to light or rather to explode. A farmer's position at this time was certainly a difficult one. However peaceful he might feel, he could not remain in his farm-house for an hour after we had moved off, without being instantly commandeered. On the other hand, if we did not find him in his house, the inference was, he was 'in commando,' and anything that we could catch about the place we annexed. Rustenburg passes for a town in the Transvaal, but in normal times its inhabitants number only 700. The most noticeable building is a fine church. We saw lots of sangars about, and underground places evidently Baden-Powell's handiwork, when beleaguered. We encamped there that night, and soon learnt that to-morrow was not to be the day of rest we expected. Orders came for parade at 5 A.M., and rumours were rife that the Boers were only six miles away; that Kruger was with them; that Baden-Powell was hanging on to their tails; that five other Generals were all concentrating from round about. So next morning, when we started off at a fast trot before the sun rose, we thought we were in for a really big 'show.' We rode west through Macarto's Nek and on to Eland's River, where we halted and watered our horses, while the helio worked interruptedly and another blinked in answer from some miles further on. Here we happened on Baden-Powell quietly stretching by the stream. Then the other helio flashed that we were not wanted, and much disappointed we turned our heads towards Rustenburg again, Baden-Powell riding along with us, with his Brigade-Major, orderly, galloper, and pennon all

correct. Meanwhile guns had been going in the distance, and we were told they were Carrington's, defending his convoy. Without being certain, we have always had the impression that it was through some blunder made on this day that Major Hore and his gallant little band got cut off for some days by the Boers. Back then we went to Rustenburg, and on from there by the way we had come, and our journey was uneventful, except for occasional sniping, and much bargaining for fowls with Kaffirs. We passed a good many Kaffir villages.

One incident was rather amusing, except to the man to whom it happened. He rode his horse to the edge of an innocent-looking spruit to give him a drink, and the horse to get a better drink took one step forward, and with a splash disappeared, rider and all. The stream, that did not at first appear to be more than a foot deep, seemed bottomless. Both man and horse got out all right, looking very unhappy, for it was a cold raw evening. The rifle was lost.

There was always a great deal of uncertainty as to what would happen in riding one's horse to water in this sort of place,—very often too the muddy approach was a veritable bog.

That night soon after we reached camp the order came that all the Transport was to be ready to go on in two hours, and get across the Crocodile River to-night. This gave rise to shocking language, not only from the Transport men and the men who had lost their horses, and who had already to-day 'walked every inch of the way,' but from everybody, for we had to keep only a very small allowance of blankets,—just what we could carry on our saddles,—and send on the rest, as well as all our cooking utensils. Next morning we followed, without bite or sup, for there was nothing to cook in, and we had not gone far when we were suddenly roused by the sound of sharp rifle fire to our left. The gunners got the order "Prepare for action," and everybody seemed to bustle up and be ready for eventualities. The galvanic effect of a few shots on troops wearily marching along is truly wonderful, as well as on their horses. Everybody is at once on the '*qui vive*.' In this case it proved to be little more than a sniping party and the Boers were soon driven off.

We were now ascending a rough and boulder-strewn hill, and shortly came over Commando Nek—a pass, with a good road through it, between the highest hills of the Magaliesberg, so rocky that even grass seemed unable to grow. Evidently from the litter about, it had for weeks past been used as a camping ground by the Boers, and it certainly seemed an ideal spot to defend. We, too, had often had our camps below it, and here a disaster had already occurred to one of our

outposts, involving the loss of two guns. But even before this war, it had been the scene of many a conflict between advancing white and retreating black, when first the Boers trekked north. It is a spot too famous in history and legend for fierce battles fought between the different native tribes, battles sung of still in their sagas or told in tradition, what time the victorious exterminated the vanquished, and fights were fought to a finish.

II.—*A day's halt.*

We were roused none too early to find to our relief that we were not moving. It was bitterly cold and the ground was hard with frost. This cold was especially noticeable, now that we had left the inexplicably warm valley on the other side of the Magaliesberg range. After passing through Commando Nek yesterday, we had encamped on a wide plain watered by the Crocodile River. A day's rest when 'on the trek' is a boon indeed; but withal there is lots to do.

First of all there are one's rations to think about.

With plenty of time at their disposal and after their very considerable practice, our amateur cooks could make a savoury repast out of very little. If there was a garden about, we grubbed up some vegetables, with which even the 'trek ox served out in Government Rations made an excellent stew.

The orderly officer having been fetched, and one man per section having arrived with a strange assortment of old tins, saucepans, lids, stable buckets and a nosebag, wherein to receive the good gifts of Government, the doling out begins. For the information of the uninitiated I will enumerate these. One pound of biscuits, *i.e.*, five, thick, square, very hard, brick like, dog-biscuits—sometimes we only got 3½ when things were scarce. They do not sound good, but we have quarrelled over the crumbs when the division is over, we have bought them at a shilling each, and there have been times when we would have given five shillings for one, had it been obtainable. Then there is meat to draw, one pound usually very tough beef per man, and jam (¼ lb. per man), if we were lucky; oats for the horses, and compressed chaff, if they were lucky. Lastly, the groceries, one-third of an ounce of coffee per man, for a time actually we coffee-planters had burnt mealie (Indian-corn) palmed off on us as coffee,—one-sixth of an ounce of tea, three ounces of sugar, but by this time the best arranged tins and pots of the best ration-fatigue man will be filled, and the latter commodity is invariably drawn in his hat. This was a good start to a day's work, bringing the things along and apportioning them to the various messes. One wanted to be a veritable Hercules to run about with the 200-lb. oatbags. We were in the middle of this, and had had a good wrangle with the

quarter-master serjeant,—we, arguing that we still had to-day's rations to draw, be, that we had drawn one day's rations ahead at starting,—when suddenly we espied a great scurry going on about a mile away, crowds of men rushing after what we at last made out to be a small deer. In and out it went among tents, horses, saddles, carts, guns, etc. Frantic efforts were made to catch it, men left whatever they were doing to join in the chase, rolling over in their endeavours. Some jumped at it with their blankets to find they had caught mother earth, others tried to lassoo it, and the number and variety of missiles thrown at it baffle description. Everybody anywhere near threw something,—boots, pots, buckets, tins, stones, harness, helmets and bayonets hurtled through the air. But the deer came on and suddenly turned our way. Our efforts to catch it were equally futile. We missed it by feet, and the shouting crowd swept by. A few minutes later it was caught, poor little beast, but our humanity was shortlived, when we found it was caught by one of our mess. He taking things easy, and lying like a log, caught the unsuspicious deer as it leapt over him. The next thing to think about was a wash, and an overhauling of kit, in case we might find some clean things to change into. It certainly was unlucky at this stage to find that the 'narl-band,' who also did 'dhobie,' to whom some ten days before I had given my clothes to wash, with five shillings payment in advance, at Teene, had lost them all. His excuse was that he was too hurried at starting to pack up anything,—we certainly had a playful way of starting off on expedition at an hour's notice.' Nor, he complained, had he any mode of conveying these things over the 150 miles or so we had travelled since. This was a severe blow. Henceforth with one suit only there was no longer any possibility of having anything at the wash.

Shouldering what we could find, a towel and priceless piece of soap, avoiding the corporals, who were always wanting just a few men for just a few fatigues, and the serjeants who were playing with a Field State,—an abstruse document that aspired to shew where everyone was, whether here, or away, or sick or wounded or missing, whether with a good horse, or a sick horse or with no horse at all,—shunning the adjutant, who always seemed to be wanting everything, we made our way down to the Crocodile River. We were careful to take our bearings as we went, as it is the easiest thing in the world to lose your way in a big camp, and the hardest to find it again, for every mounted 'lot' looks just the same, and, if you make enquiries as to the whereabouts of your own particular Regiment, you sometimes get the most inconvenient reply, "I've 'eard of 'em." The Crocodile River was very cold and very

refreshing, and how necessary one may gather from the fact that this was the first occasion we had been able to take even our boots off for twelve days. While we were bathing a New Zealander came down with a big horse, which had been wounded in yesterday's sniping. He bathed the bullet wound in his neck and seemed much relieved to find it healing, for they had come over from New Zealand together.

Our ablutions over, we returned to camp, stopping to look at some hundreds of horses having a good time in a field of young oats, and evidently enjoying a rest as much as we did, some however already too tucked up even to graze. We passed the Elswick battery with their splendid guns carrying their six and seven thousand yards as well as any of those of the Boers, and the cowguns, so called from the sixteen yoke of oxen that drew them so, exchanging a word here and there with the Tommies we passed, we came to our lines, and were at once greeted by a round of abuse by the other fellows, who had had a rare old time fitting and receiving horse-shoes and nails and then having them all taken away again. This was in keeping with the best traditions of Lumsden's Horse and, as far as I could gather, of any other horse.

We had now an hour or so to spare, in which to write a line home, or to visit the barber, or clean up the dinner service. This comprised at this time three battered and bent enamelled plates, a mug or two for soup, several old jam and Swiss milk tins, the lids of a few Army Ration tins, and a few odd spoons, knives and forks. The real epicure carried his knife, fork and spoon in his gaiter at all times. There not being much time for cleaning up on the march, a muddy plate covered under the mud with the greese of previous repasts is hastily scraped and doused with water and wiped clean before dinner, and after dinner is thrown down again in the mud to be recovered next morning, and thrown as it is with others in like condition into an old oat-sack, which is dignified by the name of our 'sub chiz' bag. This also holds our reserve stock of provisions, such as a tin or two of jam, mustard, curry powder, etc., acquired during our last visit to a shop, with perhaps a pound or two of sago or rice or mealy flour in paper bags, which sometimes burst, or got left out in the rain. We generally managed to have some sort of a tin with a top to it for our coffee, tea and sugar, and they would have been all right had not the coffee so frequently got into the tea tin, and *vice versâ*, and both into the sugar.

On the strength of our luck, we had invited our very good friends and next door neighbours, the Bushmen, (Q. M. I) to dine with us that night, and soon after sunset they came round to our fire. Very good fellows they were, and a very

genial dinner we had. Their stew was excellent—they of course brought their own, and their coffee too, one of our mess produced some excellent cheroots afterwards, and we sat on into the night, smoking, sipping coffee and telling stories, the hills all around lit up by lines of fire, and the sky illumined by a glorious full moon.

Some of the bushmen's stories against themselves were most amusing. They had as good a name as anybody for horsestealing and cattlelifting. One of them naively told us how one day he was walking through another Regiment's lines, when a serjeant spotted him and gave the order "stand to your horses." He said he was so overcome by the 'compliment,' he could hardly acknowledge it. Another day at a midday halt, when the cowguns were brought back from watering, the distracted officer in charge found one of the fattest and best was missing. He only just discovered it in time to save its life, and deprive the Bushmen of a feast. They told us so many tricks for changing a horse's marks, brands, colour, etc., that an owner even should not recognise his own horse, and I looked anxiously towards my old chesnut to see if he was still there. Others joined our widening circle as the morn rose higher. The whole camp seemed in excellent spirits. Sounds of revelry wafted in the still night air reached us from many a camp fire, snatches of song broken anon by outbursts of cheering; elsewhere up rose the strains of the Highlander's pipes. An Imperial Yeoman reeled by having evidently dined well and eminently happy. Rumour is busy that we are to join in the chase after De Wet, who is striking North. We wonder as we roll into our blankets when will be our next day of rest.

TROOPER K.

ART. X.—THE LIFE AND TIMES OF AKBAR.

AKBAR, a true type and worthy representative of the Emperors of Delhi, succeeded his father Humayun in 1556. He was contemporary with Queen Elizabeth having reigned up to the year 1605. To him belongs the credit of founding and consolidating the Moghul Empire in India. By wise policy and consummate skill he put an end to the long-standing conflict between Afghan and Moghul and brought about a reconciliation between Mahommedan and Hindu. The annals of his reign inaugurate a new era in the history of India. Although a mere boy when the succession devolved upon him he had the moral courage to disregard the vicious counsels of Bairam Khan, his guardian and regent. When Himu, a Hindu leader of the Afghans, who were defeated in a battle with the army of Akbar, was brought a wounded prisoner to the Emperor, Bairam exhorted him to kill the Hindu and win the title of Ghazi-ud-din or Champion of the Faith, Akbar refused to imbrue his hands with the blood of a helpless warrior, but the wicked regent did not scruple to behead him with his own sword. Having reached his eighteenth year Akbar threw off the pupilage and control of his guardian. The means he adopted to restore order in Hindustan after two centuries of anarchy and misrule, showed that Akbar was a far-seeing statesman and an able commander. He captured fortresses in the possession of the Afghans and stamped out disaffection amongst his own turbulent and troublesome chieftains. He also subdued and dethroned dynasties of independent Sultans who had built up kingdoms in Guzerat, Malwa and Bengal.

It is unnecessary to enter into any detailed account of his warlike exploits or the particulars of his life as these can be easily had by reference to standard works of Indian history. We would only select such anecdotes and interesting matters as are calculated to throw light upon his character and general policy. Some traditions have been preserved which serve to show Akbar's strength of character and hatred of dishonesty and deception illustrating at the same time the lawlessness which he had to face. An officer named Adham Khan was sent to subdue a Sultan of Malwa. The Sultan fled at his approach leaving his treasures behind. Adham Khan took possession of Malwa with all the treasures left but kept back the Emperor's share of the spoil only sending a few elephants to Agra. Akbar managed to detect this concealment and criminal misappropriation on the part of the officer

and punished him by recalling him and appointing another person as governor in his place.

The most arduous task of Akbar had been to quell the frequent rebellions breaking out in the different parts of the Empire.

The truth seems to be that the Mahommedan religion had lost its force. The brotherhood of Islam could not bind Moghul, Turk, and Afghan into one united mass as it had united the Arab tribes in the old wars of the Khalifat. The dismemberment of the Mahommedan Empire in India had begun two centuries before, at the fall of the Tughlak dynasty and revolt of the Deccan. Under such circumstances Akbar called in the aid of a new power to restore peace in Hindustan and consolidate a new empire, and the policy which he pursued forms the most important and interesting event in the history of his reign. This policy was the policy of equality of race and religion which maintained the integrity of the Moghul Empire for more than a century and since then has been the mainstay of the British Empire in India.

The first step in the work of amalgamation was the conquest and pacification of the princes of Rajputana. The Rajput league under the suzerainty of the Rana of Chitor was bound together by a system of inter-marriages. The policy of Akbar was to put the emperor in the room of the Rana; to become himself the suzerain of the Rajput league and the commander of the Rajput armies. To carry out this object he married the daughters of the Rajas giving them daughters in return. Although this practice of Akbar was considered as highly heterodox by the Mahommedans as it was not sanctioned by the Koran, and in the teeth of violent opposition of the Rana who would not mingle his high caste Kshattriya blood even with that of an emperor, the majority of the Rajput princes adopted it and was raised to positions of honour and emolument by the emperor.

Henceforth there were two aristocracies in the Moghul Empire, and two armies. Each was distinct from the other and acted as a balance against the other. The one was Moghul and Mahommedan; the other was Rajput and Hindu. The religious antagonism between Mahommedan and Hindu was a positive gain to Akbar. Mahommedans could not always be trusted in a war against Mahommedan rebels; and any scruples about fighting fellow-Mahommedans were a hindrance to Akbar in the suppression of a revolt. But no such scruples existed between Mahommedans and Hindus. Mahommedans were always ready to fight idolatrous Rajas. The Rajputs, on the other hand, were always ready to fight Mahommedan rebels; and they gloried especially in fighting

their hereditory enemies the bigoted Afghans who had driven their forefathers from their ancient thrones on the Ganges and Jumna. He thus played off the Hindus against the Mahommedans and *vice versâ* to serve his own purpose.

Akbar pursued a conciliatory policy towards the Hindu princes and took care to provide a career for them. He appointed his brother-in-law, the son of the Jaipur Raja, Governor of Punjab. Raja Man Sinha, also a Hindu relative, did good war service for Akbar from Kabul to Orissa and ruled as Governor of Bengal from 1598 to 1604. His great finance minister, Raja Todar Mall, was likewise a Hindu and carried out the first land settlement and survey of India. Out of 415 Mansabdars or Commanders of horse, 51 were Hindus. Akbar abolished Jaziah or tax on non-Musalmans as well as the tax on pilgrimages and placed all his subjects upon a political equality. He had the Sanscrit sacred books and 'epic poems,' as also the Bible translated into Persian and showed a keen interest in the religion of his Hindu subjects.' He respected their laws, but he put down their inhuman rites. He forbade trial by ordeal and animal sacrifices.

Akbar was the greatest Moslem ruler that has ever ruled in India, and one of the wisest and noblest of sovereigns that the world has ever seen. His bravery in war was remarkable, and he seemed indeed to be stimulated by an instinctive love of danger. His wonderful activity, his inexhaustible energy and his great power of endurance were equally remarkable, and baffled all opposition, and he has justly been called the real founder of the great Moghul Empire. His administrative talents were also of a high order, and with the assistance of Musalman and Hindu ministers, he organised a perfect system of administration, and settled the land revenue of this great Empire after a careful survey. And lastly, he was enlightened and tolerant and catholic in his views. He looked upon all systems of religion with equal veneration, and held that people could obtain salvation by following any religion. He was a patron of learning. Urdu and Hindi poets received every assistance and encouragement from him. He was fond of music and invited Miyan Tansen from the court of Baghelkhund and conferred high honour on him. Akbar has often been described by his contemporaries as being proud and arrogant but clement and affable. He was tall and handsome, broad in the chest and long in the arms. His complexion was ruddy and nut-brown. He had a good appetite and digestion, but was sparing as regards wine and flesh meat. He was remarkable for strength and courage. He was hostile to the Mahommedan religion. He broke up the power of the Ulama a collective body of orthodox Mahommedan doctors.

He conversed with teachers of other religions—Brahmans, Buddhists and Pasis. He sent a letter to the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, requesting that Christian fathers might be sent to teach him the tenets of Christianity. Both Akbar and his minister Abul Fazl professed the utmost respect for Christianity; and Akbar even entered the Church and prostrated before the image of Christ; but neither the Emperor nor his minister were sufficiently impressed with the truths of Christianity to become baptised.

Akbar indulged in religious experiences until he believed himself to be a representative of God. He founded a new religion known as the Divine Faith. He allowed himself to be worshipped as a type of royalty emanating from God, while he himself worshipped the sun in public as the most glorious image of the Almighty Being in the world. But in reality he was a strict monotheist.

Akbar sought to better his subjects by measures of toleration as well as by improved social laws. He permitted the use of wine, but punished intoxication. He gratified the Hindu subject by prohibiting the slaughter of cows. He forbade the marriage of boys before they were sixteen. He permitted the marriage of Hindu widows, and did his best to put a stop to widow burning. In after-life he tried to check the practice of polygamy amongst the Mahommedans.

The daily life of Akbar and his Court may be gathered from three institutions of Moghul origin. They were known as the Jharoka, the Durbar and the Ghusal-khana; in English parlance they would be known as the window, the audience hall, and the dressing room. At the Jharoka Akbar used to worship the sun and was himself worshipped by the multitude assembled below; from the window also he inspected troops, horses, elephants and camels and was entertained with the combats of animals. The Durbar was the hall of audience where the Emperor disposed of petitions, administered justice and received Rajas, Ameers and Ambassadors. The Ghusal-khana was a private assembly held in the evening in a pavilion behind the Durbar Court. None were admitted excepting the ministers and such grandees as received special invitations.

Akbar is famous for having introduced a land settlement into his dominions. It should be explained that under Moghul rule all lands were treated as the property of the Emperor. They were divided into two classes, Khalisa and Jaghir. The Khalisa lands were those held by the Emperor as his own demesnes, and paid a yearly rent to him. The Jaghirs were estates given in lieu of salaries. In this way Jaghirs were given to queens and princesses in the imperial harem, to governors, ministers and grandees. Every Jaghir paid a

fixed yearly rent to the Emperor; and all that could be collected above this amount belonged to the Jaghirdar or holder of the Jaghir.

Akbar employed a Hindu named Todar Mall to make a revenue settlement; in other words to fix the yearly payments to be made by holders of the land. All lands were measured whether cultivated or uncultivated. Every piece of land yielding a yearly income of Rs. 25,000 was placed under the charge of an officer known as a Krori; the object being to bring uncultivated lands into cultivation.

We have the authority of Sir William Hunter to state that Akbar's revenue system was based on the ancient Hindu customs and survives to this day. He first executed a survey or actual measurement of the fields. His officers then found out the produce of each acre of land and settled the Government share amounting to one-third of the gross produce. Finally they fixed the rates at which this share of the crop might be commuted into a money payment. These processes, known as the land settlement, were at first repeated every year. But, to save the peasant from the extortious and vexations incident to an annual enquiry, Akbar's land settlement was afterwards made for ten years. His officers strictly enforced the payment of a third of the whole produce; and Akbar's land revenue from Northern India exceeded what the British levy at the present day. From his fifteen Provinces including Kabul beyond the Afghan frontier, and Khandesh in Southern India he demanded fourteen millions sterling per annum; or excluding Kabul, Khandesh, and Sind, twelve and-a-half millions. The British land tax from a much larger area of Northern India was only twelve millions in 1883. Allowing for the difference in area and in purchasing power of silver, Akbar's tax was about three times the amount which the British take. Two later Returns show the land revenue of Akbar at sixteen and-a-half and seventeen and-a-half millions sterling. The Provinces had also to support a local militia in contradistinction to the regular royal army, at a cost of at least twelve millions sterling.* Excluding both Kabul and Khandesh, Akbar's demand from the soil of Northern India exceeded twenty-two millions sterling per annum under the two items of land revenue and militia cess. There were also a

* [The Permanent Settlement of Bengal does not exclude such an additional Imperial Military Cess, and were this to be imposed and collected, in proportion to its population and land revenue,—say, some ten millions sterling annually—it would still the outcry against the Settlement and the injustice thereby done to the rest of India. Else the Settlement itself is sure to be overhauled soon, as Land-Legislation is the order of the day all over India.—Ed., *C.R.*]

number of miscellaneous taxes. Akbar's total revenue is estimated at forty-two millions.

The latter years of Akbar were embittered by the rebellion of his eldest son which was in fact a Mahommedan insurrection against his apostasy. It was suppressed and Akbar became outwardly reconciled to his son; but he was apparently a changed man. He abandoned heresy and scepticism and returned to the Mahommedan faith. He died in October 1605, aged sixty-four.

The first element of civilisation is free and easy communication; and during the greater part of the seventeenth century this was by no means wanting in India. The roads and postal arrangements which prevailed throughout the Moghul Empire during the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb, were quite as advanced, if not more so, than those of France during the reign of Louis XIV or those of England under Oliver Cromwell and Charles II.

The administration of civil justice of every town was conducted by the Nawab and that of criminal justice by the Kotwal. The Nawab was assisted by a Kazi reputed to be learned in Mahommedan law; and there was always a Mullah or Mufti who superintended all matters pertaining to the Mahommedan religion. The Nawab generally rendered speedy justice. If a man sued another for a debt, he had either to show an obligation or produce two witnesses, or take an oath. If he was a Christian he swore on the Gospels; if a Mahommedan he swore on the Koran; and if a Hindu he swore on the Cow. The Kotwal discharged the functions of Magistrate and Judge and was also head of the police and superintendent of the prison. While the Kotwal maintained peace and order in the town an officer known as the Fauzdar carried out the same duties in the surrounding country. The Fauzdar exercised the same authority in the district that the Kotwal exercised in the town. All revenue questions had been left to an officer called the Dewan. It was the duty of this officer to receive all collections of revenue, to pay all salaries, including that of the Subahdar or Nawab, and devote his whole attention to the remittance of the largest possible yearly balance to the imperial treasury at Delhi.

The Emperor was the sole fountain of all honour, rank and titles throughout the Empire. These rewards were so eagerly coveted that grandees were often ready to sacrifice the greatest part of their wealth to obtain them. They were never hereditary, but they elevated the grandee for the time being above his fellows in the eye of the whole court, and were thus always received with the utmost pride and gladness of heart. Many a Subahdar or Nawab driven to the verge of rebellion by insult

or neglect, has been brought within the pale of loyalty and devotion by the receipt of an empty title and a dress of honour from the Great Moghul. Mr. J. T. Wheeler has recorded a correct and impartial view of Moghul administration in his history of India. The character of the Moghul administration is confounded with that of the reigning sovereign; and if the Emperor is self-willed, self-indulgent, and vicious like Jehangir or Shah Jehan, the conclusion is drawn that the administration is equally selfish and tyrannical and regardless of the welfare of the masses. But this inference would be fallacious. The Emperor was certainly a despot; his will was law and his influence was great for good or evil. The local Viceroy may have been corrupt and grasping to the last degree. But the Moghul administration was not the handiwork of individuals or generations; it was the growth of centuries kneaded into shape by the experience of ages, hedged around by checks which are not always visible to the historian, and controlled by the latent force of custom, habit and public opinion to which the most despotic princes are occasionally compelled to bow. The Moghul Emperors, especially Akbar, followed the policy of equality and fair play which, although solemnly declared by the Royal Proclamation of 1858 as the policy which ought to be pursued in India, is seldom carried into effect by the enlightened English Government.

Akbar came to the throne when the country was suffering under a confusion of claims, not with swelling professions and elaborate promises on lips and avarice at heart, but with a calm determination to adjust the disputed rights between the rulers and the ruled. To have brought together and reconciled conflicting elements of the Empire; to have formed, out of distinct and alien races, hostile creeds, and exclusive nationalities, a homogeneous people, is not the only merit of Akbar and other Moghul rulers of India. To them we owe the perfect development and preservation of that matchless municipal system—the village community—which left the people of India in the enjoyment of the larger measure of real freedom under the most despotic occupiers of the Delhi throne than has been enjoyed by other peoples living under freer constitutions. To them we owe that magnificent land system under which agriculture flourished and wealth increased in spite of rapacious proconsuls and desolating civil wars and ruinous invasions. To them we owe that early land settlement which, in accuracy, completeness, and magnitude, far surpasses all the settlements yet effected by British Statesmanship in India.

And hence the late lamented Mr. Robert Knight, the Bayard of Indian Journalism, said: "A very remarkable settlement of the land was made in the time of the Emperor Akbar, by his

great Minister Todar Mall, whose assessments, I found, were not empirical, and put our own entirely to shame. He began by instituting a careful and minute record, in all the provinces of the Empire, of the actual yield of the soil, and he had the enquiry protracted over a cycle of nineteen years, before he ventured to affirm the average returns to the cultivator's industry."

Many sources of income now open to the English were to Akbar sealed. He had no revenue from stamps, no monopoly in opium and salt. "It would have been well," say Dr. Sambhu Chundra Mukherjie, "if the Anglo-Indian Statesman could profit by the precedent of their Mahommedan predecessors. But instead of taking advantage of the experience of centuries, they have pursued a policy of their own whose mischief of irritating the people is not counterbalanced by even the paltry recommendation of cheapness. Every Governor-General from Lord Teignmouth to Viscount Canning has declared himself for what has been termed 'the patriarchal system,' and has tried to shape the Government accordingly. What is insisted on as the chief merit of this system, namely, it enables the ruling-body to watch over every minute proceeding of the people, is, we submit, its chief defect. Under the patriarchal theory, the Government and its subjects stand in the relation of parent and children. It is, we believe, open to the feeblest intellect to perceive that a system which pretends to give the people a sort of earthly Providence in their rulers should be necessarily very vexatious and very expensive."

According to the Ayin Akbari the total revenue of the Moghul Emperors was forty-two millions sterling including all the petty taxes. With this sum they managed an empire like India, and a standing army of three lakhs of men without any further taxation. They also built such magnificent buildings as the Tajmehal, Jumma Musjid and others which cost them an immense sum of money. No doubt a source of their income was plunder. Yes, the Moghuls too were not above looting, but they looted the enemy—never their subjects. It was not plunder or no plunder that made all the differences in the financial results of Moghul and British Rule in India. The Mahommedan rulers of the country did not rob Peter to pay Paul.

Their Government spent a good deal of money on useless works, but the money still remained in the country. Agriculture flourished, trade and commerce went on smoothly as far as knowledge of the people permitted. Famines, the high prices of food, the extinction of the aristocracy and of various industries, and, above all, incessant drain of money, have, in our time, produced a degree of misery that never existed under the

Hindu, or the Moghul, Tippo Sahib or the Peshwa. The English civilians are practically so many money-recruiters sent to India. India is the great market-place where Englishmen sell not only their commodities, but also their talents at an enormous price—not at the desire of the people but through the interposition of the Government. Indian weavers, oilmen, paper-makers, blacksmiths, and many others are starving and fast disappearing.

"In our insular impatience of every national institution," says Mr. Robert Knight, "that differed from our own, our rule has been one sustained effort to fuse and re-cast everything in India, in the moulds of English thought, feeling, and development. In our impatience of what we despised for no other reason than that we did not understand it, we have broken down every relation of class to class, and disintegrated the whole social and political life of the people. The subversion of Native Rule, and the substitution of a rule of foreigners in its stead, was a vast revolution in itself; while not content with the change in the life of the people, we have set ourselves to remodel every institution upon Western, and, indeed, English ideas. And the result is what might have been foretold The people are docile and accustomed by long ages of submission to obey their rulers blindly. They have conformed to our rules and regulations without a thought of actively resisting us; and to-day India presents the spectacle of a vast and noble tree that has been torn up from the soil, while every leaf drops and withers from the disruption of its roots."*

KAILAS CHUNDRA KANJILAL, B.L.

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* [We suppose the Permanent Settlement, for instance, is one of the old great roots torn up; that has rendered "extinct (see a few lines above this quotation) the aristocracy;" that has "drained all the money;" that has "produced misery that never existed under the Hindu and others;" and at the expense of which "English Civilian money-recruiters are sent to India. (!!!)."—ED., *C.R.*]

ART. XI.—RAM BODH MUNI—A STORY OF THE HIMALAYAS.

ON a bright October morning in the year 1815—to translate it from the more formidable 1871, Vikramaditya, as a Hindu would write it—two persons, a girl and a youth, sat in the shade of a stone temple in the quiet hamlet of Paraspur, in Western Nepaul. The youth had seen nineteen summers, each of which had helped in some degree to add manliness to his features, and a grace of bearing which of itself would have told him high-born had the Brahmanical cord which hung over his shoulder been wanting: he was taller than most Nepalese youth, and seemed in the sight of the brown-eyed girl seated near him, like some fair, tall pine tree of her native forests: a blush overspread his face, and the brightness of his eye did not come from the single fact that he had been left in charge of the temple while his father had gone with the other villagers to the great fair at Jawalpur in an adjoining valley.

The girl was thirteen, as fair and beautiful as a Nepalese girl could be—which is saying a great deal. Her veil was partly thrown back, revealing a face not soon forgotten when once seen, illuminated by eyes of deepest rown and adorned with a mouth that spoke at once of sweetness and strength. Her fair cheeks were suffused with red and her frame was thrilling with excitement; but a few moments before she had entered the temple door, her hands filled with the loveliest ferns and mountain-flowers which she had reverently presented as an offering to the rude stone idol, accompanying it as usual with a *lotah* of water brought from the neighbouring stream the music of whose falling waters was still in her ears as she worshipped: her pious request inaudibly spoken, she had struck the low-hung temple bell as she had done from early childhood, and had passed out to the stone platform where her lover and betrothed was sitting.

The two were alone. A gentle breeze was sweeping through the majestic *peepul* tree which ornamented the temple courtyard and playing with the tender branches of the holy Basil (*Tulsi*) near which the lovers sat: two doves were hovering near each other in the singing *peepul*, happy in the freshness and fragrance of the bright autumn morning. Ordinarily the courtyard would not have been empty of worshippers at this hour, but the attractions of the fair at Jawalpur had influenced almost all the men and boys of the village to leave their homes for the day. In front of the stone houses the diligent matrons

were attending to their early morning duties, some cleansing the brass vessels, some hulling the rice in the well-worn, iron-like rocks, and others carrying vessels of water from the village spring: children were playing in the stones and dirt; while in the terraced rice-fields below the old women were watching the grazing herds making the most of the white stubble.

"O, Piyare," said the girl, with tremulous tones, "Dearest one, how much I have risked to see your face this morning! Last night I overheard father telling mother of your going to India—to-morrow—are you going so soon as to-morrow? This morning before he started to the fair I asked him as persuasively as I could if I might not go to your home to-day and bid you farewell, but of course he refused—'it would make talk:' at going he charged mother to care for me, but O, Piyare, what could I do—I bribed the house-woman who told me you were here, and under pretence of going to see my cousin Lakshmi I got an hour's leave—the old woman is waiting outside the courtyard—and here I am dying to see your brave face once more!"

"Well done, my little Kamini!" said the youth, with unfeigned admiration in his look: "No one but my own sweet Kamini would have risked so much for such a worthless one. The day has dawned again since your feet crossed the threshold yonder: your eyes bewilder one with their brightness: the birds have ceased singing to hear you talk!"

The girl's eyes fell and her cheeks tingled at the hearty words of praise. "But are you really going to India?" said she, looking anxiously at her lover's face.

"Yes, precious one," said he: "my uncle, the contractor, who lives at Newalgarh, has been commissioned by our great ruler the Maharajah to go to Benares, as our holy Kashiji is so often called now-a-days, to build a temple there: the Maharajah gives two *lákhs* of rupees and uncle is to have it finished within two years. I go to be his assistant, and at the same time to perfect myself in Sanskrit in that famous place where the glory of the saints and sages is only eclipsed by the beauty of the holy Ganges which sweeps past the rich and blessed city!"

"And you return when?" asked the girl with nervous tones, the tears filling her eyes.

"Alas, I must be absent at least two years, perhaps three," was the reply: "As village priest, for such they say I am to be on my return—it behoves me to look deep into the well of knowledge: when I return I shall open a Sanskrit school, and the *slokas* of our golden Vedas will be chanted here in this lovely hamlet of ours as never before: besides I must visit

some of the sacred shrines of India—Ajudhiya, Bindrabun, and, if possible, Hardwar—so I fear I must leave you three years."

"O, Piyare, Piyare, my heart fails me," said the maiden in a voice full of tears: "You go so far, you stay so long—and—I love you so"—the head dropped lower and the words seemed spoken to the Basil plant. Looking up, she continued, "But I must be brave as well as you. Are you *sure* you will still love me and think of me and come back to me?"

"*Sure*," echoed the youth: "Are *you* sure the sun is shining; are you sure this is a *peepul* tree and not a pine; are you sure the brook yonder is flowing down towards the sacred Sarju? Yes, dearest one, I am yours, and for your sake I go that you may some day be very proud of your Punditji returned from Benares!"

Silence fell on them, while the cooing doves in the tree above sang a gentle love-song: tears were in the lovers' eyes and their hearts were strangely moved.

Kamini rose tremblingly and stepped nearer her betrothed: her eyes as she stood were on a level with his. "Dear heart," said she, "be not angry if I ask a great favour before you go—may I have a kiss from your lips?"

There could be but one answer; their eyes, their lips, their souls met. The birds stopped singing, the wind ceased to blow: never before had the tall *peepul* or the lowly Basil seen such a sight.

"Take this from me, O Piyare," said the girl, "keep it, wear it; whenever you see it let it tell you that Kamini lives for you, loves you, and will never love another so long as the sun and moon and stars endure"—and dropping a parcel in his hand she turned and rushed out of the door into the narrow street where the old servant was waiting in dumb amazement.

Ram Bodh, the youth, watched the departing figure, longing to call the maiden back; once he shouted, but she had crossed the threshold: only the doves heard; they were frightened and flew away. The young Brahmin opened the parcel. Carefully removing various coverings of silk cloth he came at last to a beautifully carved trident made of gold, bearing an inscription with but a single word,—"KAMINI:" tears came into his eyes again as he replaced the precious love-token in its wraps, and carefully concealed it about his person. He had hardly done this when a company of travellers thrust their feet across the threshold of the temple enclosure shouting the praises of Mahadeo, the god they had come to worship; the meditations of the young priest were brought abruptly to a close as he arose to superintend the worship of the travellers.

The uncle and nephew left their homes, on the appointed day, followed by the blessings of their fellow-townsmen, who joined in beseeching all the gods and goddesses to speed them on their way and give them glorious success in the very meritorious work they were about to undertake. The Maharajah gave them an escort to the British territory, from which point the way was open and their progress unimpeded. They tarried several days in Ajudhiya "the Invincible," bathing in the sacred Sarju, and worshipping in the beautiful stone temple built but recently by the father of the Maharajah whose pious wish they had undertaken to carry out. Passing on by easy stages, they came to Kashi the thrice holy city, centre of the great Hindu world, the jewel of Hindustan. The uncle at once set about building the temple: agents were dispatched for stone, artists engaged, workmen employed, and in course of time the temple was finished, one among the many which crowd the banks of the sacred Ganges. The report and accounts were prepared, ready to submit to the Maharajah whose zeal in the enterprise had never flagged.

Ram Bodh had grown taller, stronger and wiser. The treasures of Sanskrit lore had been opened to him for he had the real key—a love of study; he had sat at the feet of the most celebrated Sanskritists: he had denied himself many a pleasure that he might find knowledge; he had visited the great temples, the famous shrines, the most renowned monasteries of the day: he had talked with the holiest ascetics, drinking in at every place the spirit of Hinduism and becoming more and more zealous therefor every year. Regularly, at long intervals, he had had word from his village home: his father had died a year after the son left for India, and his second son, Sri Ram, had been put in charge of the temple. Kamini sent tender messages of love: and Ram Bodh at last began to count the months, the weeks, the days, when he should again sit in the shadow of the temple at Paraspur and hear the village news; when he should see his betrothed; when he should take her to his home to be his own—and for ever.

* * * * *

"But tell me, brother, how did it happen," demanded Ram Bodh as he paced up and down the temple courtyard, the outer door of which had been securely fastened: five years had passed since he received the golden trident, and he had just returned to his home.

"O, impatient one, I have told you thrice—but hold, you do well to be angry—the great Mahadeo curse me if I diminish the fire of your wrath a single grain: have patience and I will tell you again. It was a month ago—our annual festival when the women go singing and begging—you remember? Rajah

Ranjit Singh, who, since your departure, has grown to be a man and has succeeded his father as owner of all these valleys, this fiend, this devil, must needs pass through our hamlet while the women were singing: he caught but a glance of Kamini's face—O, brother, how shall I tell you—and turning to his attendants he swore by all the gods that she should be his wife: no one heard it but an old servant of ours who told us the next day. That night Kamini's father's house was attacked, he resisted, he and his wife were killed outright, and Kamini was carried away to the Rajah—may the gods curse him! By bribes and threats he compelled the priests of Ramgarh to marry them the next day. We tried to rescue her but failed: I have done nothing since but pray to the gods and ask them to bring you home—alas! alas! this wicked world!"

Ram Bodh could not speak: his grief overcame him: he continued walking up and down while the pale moon hastened over the mountain-top out of sight and only the stars were left: the young man's heart was slowly breaking; the moon had sunk in his heavens.

Midnight found the two brothers sitting side by side under the *peepul* tree, planning revenge and rescue: their words were low, and none but the sacred tree heard the oath they took as they separated at last.

Three days later a little company—the hamlet was not large—stole quietly out at night and took their way to Ramgarh, a dozen miles away, where Rajah Ranjit Singh was halting: the young men were armed in the usual Nepalese fashion with short swords: they hastened on hardly speaking, the two brothers leading the way, their hearts aflame with grief and rage. They had kept their counsel so well that as they thought, no one knew of their departure; but money can do all things; the Rajah had bought two men in Paraspur and set them as spies: these heard of the proposed attack as Ram Bodh and his friends left the hamlet, and, taking a shorter, steeper road, they hurried away in the night to warn the Rajah, arriving at his camp only half an hour before Ram Bodh. The Rajah awoke and armed himself; his attendants did the same, and when the attacking party rushed upon the camp they found themselves overmatched two to one. Both brothers fell wounded: Ram Bodh, who had aimed a blow at the Rajah, was felled to the earth by a strong swordsman. "Well done, Sher Singh!" shouted the Rajah, "a hundred rupees for that blow: look well to the dog, if not dead, bind him fast until to-morrow when he shall be put out of the way—only one escaped? Let him go, the rest are done for!"

Ram Bodh was siezed at once and carried to the small tent

known in the camp as "the jail," where he was made over to two guards with strict orders to keep him fast. The Rajah hastened to the women's quarters where the shrieks of waiting-maids were loud and piteous, each thinking her end had come. To Kamini's enquiries he said curtly and with peculiar emphasis, "A gang of wretches from your village, Ram Bodh and his brother they say, attacked us. Thanks to mother Devi they are all dead: let the women cease screaming;" and thus saying, he hurried away to the great tent, and, well satisfied, fell asleep.

The mention of her lover's name had roused to life the captive maiden, now a woman grown and fair as Eve: her soul sank at the dreadful news she had heard, but revived presently when one of her attendants reported that Ram Bodh was not dead but only wounded and was a prisoner in "the jail." She kept her heart still by a mighty effort and feigned sleep: her most trus worthy attendant, who like her had reason to hate the Rajah, managed to put out all the lights quietly, and before half an hour had passed Kamini's gold had silenced the two guards at "the jail," and lifting the curtain, she touched the disheartened prisoner, who was fast recovering from the effects of the blow he had received.

"It is I, love," said a low, musical voice that thrilled his soul, "I am yours still, but I cannot escape—I have risked life to come here—fly at once—leave Nepaul—do not try to rescue me—the gods keep you—take this and this—and she was gone.

Ram Bodh staggered to his feet and ran: the purse of gold he hid in his dress, and as he did so he felt a ring which he thrust in the purse. He knew the camp and the mountains about, and managed somehow to make his way to a hiding-place in a rocky cavern known only to his brother and himself. To his surprise he found his brother there, wounded and bleeding from several severe cuts; daylight found him tearing his clothes into strips with which to bind up his brother's wounds.

The following night they separated. "I must give her up," said Ram Bodh, "my life will not be safe here now: that fiend will never rest while I live. Alas! alas! my darling Kamini! I go to-night, far away to the west, towards Badrinath: there in those lofty snows perhaps my wounded spirit can find rest —perhaps I can die. Tell no one; let people count me dead—brave brother, farewell"—and he tore himself away and hurried down the mountain-side.

Sri Ram kept himself hidden for weeks and months; a reward was offered for his head; he decided at last to leave his native land and betake himself to India; he did not even return to the hamlet to bid farewell to his mother; and thus

the word spread through the village and province that both the brothers had perished in the attack on Ranjit Singh.

That cruel despot on the day after the attack when he found that his prisoner was gone was furious with anger; the guards were ordered up and questioned; on their making some lame excuse Sher Singh was called in, their noses were cut off, and they were turned out of the camp, the Rajah doubled the number of his guards and at once moved his camp to the opposite side of the province, never coming near Paraspur again.

Ram Bodh made his way, heart sore and weary from Nepaul to Kumaon and on into Garhwal. At last he came within sight of the glistening peaks of Badrinath and Kedarnath, still far away on the horizon across many a ridge and valley; with renewed purpose he pressed on, but the strain upon his mind and body was excessive, and one evening as he threw himself down on a grassy knoll near a mountain spring he felt the touch of fever upon him; by midnight he was afire with the burning torment, and at break of day he was delirious; the end would soon have come had it not been that a company of pilgrims encamping near the spring found him and administered medicine; one of their number, attracted by the noble bearing of the fever-striken man, decided to stay and nurse him and on the morrow the others passed on.

By slow degrees the patient recovered, but the look of youth and strength and high purpose had passed from his face leaving in its stead a look of pain and thwarted design; in the waning of a single moon, the man of five-and-twenty had become fifty. When he awaked from his long sleep he found to his delight that the sacred shrines towards which he had been journeying were immediately in front of him, seemingly but a day's distance, thirty or forty miles away. Rousing himself he heard from his faithful friend the story of his illness and hastened to render thanks for his great kindness; as the two men talked their hearts were bound together, and the younger, seeing a pundit before him at once claimed the privilege of discipleship which was granted. When he wished to know his new-found teacher's name Ram Bodh hesitated; a far-off look came into his eyes; he said to himself, "I have died, why not let the old name die?" and turning to the other he said, "Call me Mahadeo Das if you like, but do not ask from whence I came or what has happened me—the past is sealed." The young disciple learned no more.

Ram Bodh—or Mahadeo Das as he was now called—could go no further. One night as he tried to sleep, a plan came to him; the next morning he told his disciple that they would

build a temple on the spot and consecrate it to Mahadeo. Kamini's gold was still in her purse and he decided that it should thus be used. Workmen were called, the mountain sides above and below were relieved of part of their rich deposits; stone was placed upon stone, and in a short time the temple, modelled after the one at Paraspur, was finished: the image, brought from the rocky bed of the Ganges seven miles away, was set up, the sacred bull, carved in stone, placed outside and a Basil cutting carefully set in front.

As time passed the new temple so eligibly located attracted many pious pilgrims on their way to Badrinath; a tall bamboo surmounted by a scarlet banner was daily to be seen and indicated the place of worship. Mahadeo Das became noted for his sanctity and learning. His knowledge of Sanskrit, his uniform kindness and quietness of disposition, his words of council and exhortation won him many friends, and in a few years he had a dozen or more resident disciples besides scores of others, who in admiration of his great ability besought him to enroll them as disciples even though they went their ways; many of them to distant parts of India.

The Government gave the sad-faced pundit a few acres of ground rent free, above and below the temple; a kind official visiting the beautiful spot presented the owner with a number of fruit trees and encouraged him to enlarge his garden into an orchard; while to accommodate the pilgrims who came and went, this same official caused a rest-house to be built in front of the temple. Mahadeo Das seemed dead to the world; he became an ascetic in that he never left the temple grounds; he talked but little, he never laughed; most of his time was spent in poring over the leaves of the Vedas, a splendid copy of which he had ordered from Benares by one of his disciples. Two small rooms formed his home; in the outer he ate, read and slept; the inner room was kept locked and he was seldom known to enter it.

* * * * *

Sri Ram, leaving Nepaul, spent five years in an ascetic school at Benares; he had found but little difficulty in gaining entrance to the brotherhood and was content to sit from day to day seemingly unconscious of the world; his hair grew long and was carefully coiled on his head, his garb was in keeping with his profession; at the end of the five years his face had changed and no one would have recognized him as the stalwart youth of Paraspur. He spent another five years in pilgrimage, visiting all the shrines of India, resting at one place half a year, at another three months, at others, a shorter time; he came at last to Hardwar and made his way up the Ganges to Badrinath and Kedarnath. Here he sought anxi-

ously for tidings of his brother, but in vain. "No Ram Bodh had come among the fathers to live," said they: "he may have come and gone, who can tell—thousands are doing that every year." He fell in with a party of Nepalese pilgrims who told him—he pretending to be of Hindustani birth—of Mahadeo Das the holy man at Kinkwala; and after a time he consented to return with them to the sacred place.

Entering the temple, Sri Ram recognized his brother even changed as he was, but made no sign. That night the two met at the spring when all the others were asleep; their hands were clasped in lover-fashion as they sat talking. Each told the story of the ten years; neither had seen or heard of Kamini. The mention of her name and of their native village caused Sri Ram to reveal to his brother a plan which had long been taking shape in his mind—to return to Paraspur and take up his abode there as an ascetic—if for nothing else to look upon the beautiful valley, to see the sun rise over the mountain ridge, to hear the music of the waterfall as in former days, but to remain unknown to the people—and, if possible, to help his brother.

They parted in the morning, Sri Ram going on with the pilgrims. Mahadeo Das shut himself up in the inner room, eating nothing all day, not even reading his beloved Vedas; when he came out the next morning he seemed to his disciples still more tender-hearted, graver if possible than before.

Sri Ram in course of time reached Paraspur and went through the streets with begging-bowl asking alms. No one recognized him; with his tiger's skin, umbrella and begging-bowl, his sole possessions, he took up his abode near the old temple under a *peepul* tree which had been a favourite with his brother and himself when they were boys; the music of the waterfall hushed him to sleep every night; his manifest sanctity brought him many offerings; and in a short time "Thakur Das," as he was called, became known throughout the entire valley; old and young flocked to him to receive his blessing.

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The end of the ten years found Kamini still in the Rajah's palace, ranking first of all his wives. She was more a prisoner than a queen: she scorned his love, and after a few years of waiting he was compelled to admit that he could never hope to win her love. No children were born to them, and after five years a second wife and following her a third were added to the household. Kamini, with her personal charms, her flashing eyes, her stately step and graceful bearing, was born to rule and easily held her place. Ranjit Singh had no mind to let her escape: if she would not be his she should

never be anothers; once, when she thought she had succeeded in making a safe plan for escape and was about to fly she found herself stopped at the outer gate of the palace by the Rajah himself who conducted her to her apartments and bade her be careful in future.

Several years passed thus: shortly after Sri Ram had established himself as an ascetic at Paraspur, Kamini, on the plea of once more seeing her native village obtained leave of the Rajah to repair to the distant hamlet. An escort was supplied and she travelled in state guarded more carefully than she thought. She reached Paraspur and was carried to her old home, now entirely changed and occupied by strangers. She ordered her bearers to take her to the temple, where she alighted and worshipped, the blinding tears coming into her eyes as she thought of the happy days when she knelt at the shrine with ferns and flowers—the sweet days of girlhood: she thought, too, of the parting with Ram Bodh and prayed the god to give her tidings of his fate. The old *peepul* tree still stood apparently unchanged: the Basil plant was dead: the temple had not been kept in repair and all seemed different from the days when the father of Ram Bodh her betrothed was in charge.

Her attendants had told her of the ascetic, Thakur Das, and Kamini had intimated her desire to visit him. Leaving her palanquin at a short distance she walked on alone, her graceful hand playing with the coins she intended giving the holy man in return for his expected blessing. The eyes of the ascetic brightened as she drew near: he had heard of her intended visit and his heart was strangely moved with a desire to know if she had forgotten his brave brother. He had not long to wait.

"O, father," said the woman, as she cast the coins upon the tiger's skin where he sat and bowed her head almost to the earth as she knelt, "give a blessing to a heart-sore woman—tell me, I beseech you, if you know aught of the brave youth Ram Bodh who formerly dwelt here!"

The man's posture remained unchanged: his heart beat quick and fast as he said in low tones: "Keep your head as it is—your attendants are watching you—and I will tell you all: my brother lives and loves you."

The woman remained motionless while the ascetic gave her directions for finding his brother, by what name to make enquiries; and then extending his hand until it rested lightly on her bowed head he said reverently. "The blessing of the great Mahadeo be upon thee, sister, go in peace!"

Kamini stole but a single glance at the well-disguished face and hastened back to her palanquin, her heart throbbing

wildly and her tears flowing freely as soon as the curtains were dropped. She left Paraspur the next day, after sending the holy man a costly present and begging his further prayers. She reached the palace safely, and when Ranjit Singh had called and spoken to her, the flush on her face and the new light in her eye so increased her charms that he declared she had become a girl again by going to her childhood's home.

Through all these years Kamini had maintained her reputation for piety: her money had been spent not for jewels but in offerings at the neighbouring shrines, in relieving the poor, in building rest-houses for pilgrims. Now, as it was a *Kumbh* year, nothing would do but she must make a pilgrimage to Hardwar and visit Badrinath and Kedarnath concerning which her priests were never done talking. It was a great undertaking; the places were remote, the dangers of the journey not trifling, but the zeal of the pious queen prevailed, and Ranjit Singh, providing a suitable escort and sending one of his trusted agents in charge, yielded, and the party set out.

It was in the month of May. The face of nature was lovely beyond comparison: wooded hills and fertile valleys, cosy villages nestling on the mountain sides, rapid torrents gliding on to the noisier rivers—all joined to make the journey delightful. To Kamini, however, the days passed all too slowly: she heard nothing, she saw nothing: but one thought was in her mind—she was again to see her own dear Ram Bodh; and although she could count upon only a glance, only one little word, her heart said it would be enough.

The party reached Kinkwala at noon. Through a messenger sent in advance Ram Bodh had heard of the coming of the Rani of Ranjit Singh, and his heart was in a state of commotion which not even the golden verses of his adored Vedas could quiet. Requesting the others to go out he took his place in the temple—*her* temple, alone: *she* would come to worship and he would be her priest again.

The drums beat loudly and the temple bells clanged as the Rani and her party approached. Descending from her palanquin, Kamini entered the temple, her waiting-maids standing outside. Her eyes saw the image but rested not until they fell upon the face of the priest—her own Ram Bodh—but so changed, so aged! He rose to greet her with the usual salutation: neither dared speak, but their eyes met and a message of love flashed from heart to heart, he took her offerings and placed the tray in front of the idol: she knelt and prayed—for half a minute the two were alone. She passed out touching his hand as she went: he kissed her garments as she passed. The bells and drums sounded again, louder than before, and

scattering coins among the temple-attendants, Kamini passed on to her camp. The temple door was locked and no one else entered it that day.

At night Mahadeo Das, taking a light opened the door, passed in and fastened it. He took up the small brass tray which Kamini had presented to the idol, and held it reverently before him: there were a few flowers, the usual sweetmeats, pomegranates and dried raisins: these were taken off and laid aside: underneath all was a silk cloth and under this a piece of paper carefully folded and sealed. Ram Bodh opened it and read with throbbing heart the words (written in Sanskrit):—

"To RAM BODH MUNI.—The sun, the moon and stars still endure, so does my love for you. The great god keep you.—KAMINI."

Something glittering fell from the letter to the floor. Ram Bodh picked it up: it was a gold trident, made like the one he already possessed, and on it was engraved the single word, "Kamini."

* * * *

Thirty years passed away. Every sixth year Kamini made her pilgrimage to the Snows; always carefully guarded. The route was ever the same: the party always passed by the temple of Mahadeo at Kinkwala, and the Rani always halted to worship there. Fifty years old, she was still beautiful and fair, her form full of grace, her step elastic, her eye rich in magnetic power. Five times had Ram Bodh knelt by her side in the stone temple: five times had he taken the brass tray from her fair hands: five times had he read the message of undying love: five other golden tridents had found their way into his strong box with the two first given. The look of suffering had passed from his face giving place to one of satisfaction and peace. Men wondered at the spirituality which shone out of the famous priest's thin face.

The month of May had gone, and the Nepalese Rani had not come although the road was thick with pilgrims. Ram Bodh had counted the days from January: it was a *Kumbh* year, and his heart longed for another sight of the winsome face of his adored Kamini. As the last days of May passed away his heart grew heavy and a strange foreboding of disaster crept in.

Early in June as Mahadeo Das was one day sitting on the stone platform in front of the temple watching the golden sunset on the snowy peaks before him as he had done for two-score years, never wearying, never calling them old, a Nepalese pilgrim approached. Gravely bowing, with repeated salutations, he drew forth from his garments a carefully sealed letter

and handed it to the holy man. The latter opened it tremblingly: he glanced at the name of the senders it was signed, "Your brother Sri Ram;" and asking the attendants to give the pilgrim food and a place to rest, Mahadeo Das entered his apartments carrying the letter in his hand: he unlocked the door of the inner room, his *sancta sanctorum*, and passed in, looking it after him; and seating himself, he read the letter.

* * * * *

The night passed. Morning broke. The sun mounted the heavens. At last one of the disciples said to the others, "The teacher must be ill, we must break the door open and see." Reluctantly the others consented: the door was forced, and for the first time they entered the small apartment. There in the golden sunlight which streamed in through the single window lay Ram Bodh. He was not ill; a smile was on his lips and a look of ineffable peace on his face: he had passed on out of this evil world.

In one hand was his brother's letter: in a small box made of gold in one corner were seven gold tridents engraved with one word "KAMNI," a gold ring, and underneath were a few letters written in Sanskrit—that was all.

The letter in his hand read as follows:—

Here the tale breaks off—and ends.

ART. XII.—THE DICTATORSHIP OF MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

THE complaints so generally made at home with regard to what is called the decadence of Parliament seem to have been largely influenced by the opening of a new era and the commencement of a new reign. Unquestionably, the spirit of the twentieth century, so far as it has yet been able to shape itself, is marked by a spirit of impatience which is intolerant of the Parliamentary forms and traditions which are the matured fruit of the wisdom of ages. Nothing is more common than to hear in conversation, or to read in the newspapers, suggestions that the age is weary of tedious debates in the House of Commons, and wishes the personal authority of the King and the Executive Government to assert itself with greater force and directness. The nation, one can see, is weary of criticism, it has fallen into a mood of dissatisfaction and unrest, and it cries out, as it is apt to do from time to time when things go wrong, for a real ruler, "aristocrat, democrat, autocrat, one, who can rule and dare not lie." The circumstances of the general election, again, have predisposed men's minds in this direction. A year ago the Government assumed that the war, then only beginning, was over, and the election was taken on this issue. It resulted in the return to the House of Commons of an overwhelming Ministerial majority, very largely composed of young and inexperienced men who are strongly imbued with the war fever, and who are ready to shout down anyone who even hints a fault in the conduct of military operations in South Africa. A considerable number of these members secured their seats by the comparatively easy process of making a voyage to the Cape and spending a few months in the interior not unpleasantly as Imperial Yeomen. They went out in obedience to the curious watchward which went the round of smart society in London that the Empire was in danger, and that now was the time for every Englishman who valued his social position to prove himself to be a good sportsman and a good patriot. Most of these warriors are now happily home again, bearing their blushing honours thick upon them, and it is pleasant to see that they have had some other reward besides the consciousness of their own virtue, and that they survive in large numbers to march past the king and receive their medals, while many amongst them have been promoted to good posts, and even to seats upon the Treasury bench. The aggressive militarism of the ministerialists has been

intensified by the weakness of the Opposition. The forces under the nominal command of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman are split up by intestine quarrels, and the leader himself is hampered by his professed willingness to accept the verdict of the constituencies given last year, and to vote all the money required to carry the war to a successful issue. Many of the Liberals, too, have sons or other near relations fighting at the front, and they feel that "blood is thicker than water," and that they cannot oppose the policy of a war in which their own kinsfolk are playing a prominent part. War, in any country, is always a disintegrating force. The Opposition are constantly reminded of the fate of Fox, who broke up his own party by his sympathy with France and Napoleon. But the party of Fox was not destroyed though it remained helpless till the end of the war. When peace had been restored the Liberal feeling in England burst forth again. It triumphed in what was really the Revolution of 1832, and it seated the Liberal party firmly in power for half a century.

In estimating the position of the House of Commons in public estimation, one must take into account the personal character of its leader. Mr. Arthur Balfour is an interesting and attractive figure in politics, but nobody can remember a single inspiring sentiment or thought which he has placed at the service of his party or of mankind. "He has a charming smile, no doubt," said a distinguished Conservative, "but you cannot live on a charming smile." He has a horror of being taken for "an earnest man," who is generally, in his opinion, a prig and a pedant, and he laughs openly at the tedious debates in the House of Commons, and thinks it a bore to be obliged to attend steadfastly to business. He speaks of the House, in fact, with the easy air of aristocratic insolence which the true-born British snob so much admires. His idea of politics is that the two parties should be too well-bred not to remain always in good terms with one another. They should go down to the House, we think, in the interval between a game of golf and an evening at the opera, get through their work as quickly as possible, and then adjourn for a good long holiday, leaving the task of governing the Empire to the select circle of statesmen whom providence has specially created for that purpose. The only thing in connection with his career which will be permanently remembered is that he made the game of golf fashionable; and golf is, as a scornful cricketer once remarked, "a leisurely sort of game," just suited to Mr. Balfour's indolent disposition.

With Lord Salisbury now past praying for, and the leader of the party in the House of Commons too idle to seize the opportunities of distinction that fall in his way, it follows as

a matter of course that the conduct of public business has fallen into the hands of that minister who, holding one of the chief positions in the Government, is at the same time a capital man of business and always ready to do the work which others neglect. Mr. Chamberlain has consequently, come more and more to the front as the champion of the ministerial party. His apotheosis was completed at Blenheim the other day, when, in the company which he now finds so congenial of dukes and duchesses he proclaimed that the union between himself and Mr. Balfour was "indissoluble." It is shrewdly suspected that there is no love lost between two men whose temperaments are so anti-pathetic, and who are united by no bond but that of self-interest, but for all this Mr. Chamberlain cares very little while he is allowed to run the show.

The only member of the Government who ever had the strength or courage to challenge the supremacy of Mr. Chamberlain was the present Lord Curzon the Viceroy of India. When he was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. George Curzon would not suffer the interference of Mr. Chamberlain in his department. Three years ago the relations of France and England on the West Coast of Africa were much embroiled and incidents arose which an impulsive and headstrong minister might easily have aggravated till war became inevitable. The lines of the Colonial and the Foreign Offices overlapped in many places on the west coast, and Mr. Chamberlain took upon himself the responsibility of answering most of the questions put in the House, with the result that a quarrel between two great nations over some worthless pieces of territory seemed to be inevitable. On one occasion, late in the evening, it was whispered round the House that bad news had been received from West Africa. Presently, Mr. Chamberlain marched up the floor amid profound silence, with Mr. Austen Chamberlain and his Private Secretary to bear him company. A communication was made to Sir Charles Dilke, on the other side of the House, and he rose and asked if there was any news. Mr. Chamberlain, in his most melodramatic manner, solemnly read a telegram in which it was stated that there had been a collision between French and English, and that the English flag had been hauled down. A little further questioning, however, revealed the fact that there had merely been a little scrimmage on the frontier between a few black men, and that the negroes who claimed English protection had hoisted some rag or other, which they called a flag, on territory which did not belong to them. *Risu solvuntur tabula;* the House much relieved, broke up in inextinguishable laughter. The next day, when a further question on the subject was asked, Mr. Curzon stepped

to the table in front of Mr. Chamberlain, and said the matter belonged to his department and he would give the official answer. But now Mr. Curzon has been conveniently shunted to Calcutta, and Mr. Chamberlain ranges through the Empire at his own sweet will. Lord Salisbury has ceased to have any control over the policy of his own Cabinet, and cannot now be trusted to show the spirit which saved England in 1898, on the occasion of the Fashoda incident, from being hustled into war by his more fire-eating colleague.

We have thus traced the career of the Colonial Minister to the point at which he became the man solely responsible for the war in South Africa, which has brought England neither honour, profit nor glory, has embittered race feeling between Dutch and English for generations to come, has lowered the reputation of the English army, and has cost the country not far short of £200,000,000, or the amount which France was called upon to pay thirty years ago before she could shake herself free from the grip of Prussia. One may acquit Mr. Chamberlain of having formed any design against the independence of the Dutch republics from the time that he became Colonial Secretary. His previous record was entirely the other way. It was he, more than any other man in England, who upheld Mr. Gladstone's initial blunder after Majuba Hill, which was the source of endless future misery. The Duke of Devonshire has tried to excuse his own complicity in the policy of surrender to the Boers by saying that he voted for granting them their independence in 1880 as an experiment, but that experiment failed, and then it became necessary to use force. His Grace has forgotten that he and Mr. Chamberlain not only gave the Boers their freedom in 1880, but confirmed and extended it in 1884, and that during fourteen of the best years of their lives, from 1880 till 1894, he and Mr. Chamberlain laboured diligently to build up a strong and independent Dutch nation in South Africa. The reasons for the Colonial Secretary's change of front are still locked in his own bosom and Mr. B. H. Hawksley's. Probably the secret lies in the extraordinary influence Mr. Rhodes had acquired in 1895 both at the Cape where he was Prime Minister, and in the highest circles of English society. Visions of an African Empire extending from the Cape to Cairo had roused the adventurous spirit of Englishmen, and their cupidity was also excited by the millions of gold from the mines which were poured into England, and which debauched sober Englishmen with hopes of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice. Anyone who lived in London during 1895 must remember the fever of speculation that raged among all classes from the highest to the lowest. Not only men but women, in their

haste to be rich, staked all they had in the world in South African ventures, and their rage grew inconceivable when they were told that the burghers of the Transvaal denied full political rights to the residents engaged in the business of gold-mining. That the Outlanders had serious grievances cannot be disputed, and if Mr. Kruger had not been of such stubborn mould, he might easily have made concessions that would have satisfied them. But he denied them redress, and many people considered that Johannesburg would have been perfectly justified in organising an insurrectionary outbreak to obtain their rights. When the news of Dr. Jameson's raid first reached England, it was assumed that such a revolution had begun, and bitter was the revulsion of feeling when it was discovered with what a ramshackle crew he had undertaken his enterprise, and how completely destitute he was of support. Both Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Chamberlain were perfectly furious at a catastrophe which upset all their plans, for Mr. Fairfield's confession, in the South African Blue Book clearly proves that the Colonial Office and Mr. Rhodes were parties to a deliberate plot for upsetting the Government of the Transvaal. Mr. Chamberlain denounced in very outspoken language the poltroonry of the people of Jonannesburg, and he hastened to repudiate and condemn the Raid, to which he had not been a party. He did not despair at that time of patching things up again and receiving for himself a diplomatic victory. One has not forgotten his wheedling telegram inquiring tenderly after the health of Mr. Kruger, or the long despatch in which he invited the wary old President to come to London and have matters comfortably arranged. The contempt with which Mr. Kruger treated this invitation was a deadly blow to the minister's self-esteem, and in the long negotiations, which subsequently took place, and by means of which Mr. Rhodes hoped to retrieve his fortunes, Mr. Chamberlain's wounded vanity played no small part.

The ensuing diplomatic negotiations describe the struggle through which Mr. Chamberlain dragged the British Cabinet into war, and the "nagging" despatches by means of which he fairly worried Mr. Kruger into commencing hostilities. The dogged and perverse, but sincere, President of the Transvaal really believed that the concessions he offered to Lord Milner ought to have sufficed to purchase the continuance of peace; and there are few things more pathetic in the Blue Book than the parting speech he made to the High Commissioner after their Conference at Bloemfontein, when he said, "Now I hope we shall begin to understand one another a little better." It illustrates the spirit in which the British Plenipotentiary conducted the interview that to judge by the Blue Book, he

made no reply to Mr. Kruger's plaintive appeal but simply turned on his heel and went away. Lord Milner had been tutored in England by Mr. Chamberlain, and he became the blind instrument to carry into force that minister's fatal policy. No man could have fallen away more hopelessly from the high expectations formed of him when he left England. But there is no trial of character like that of being placed for the first time in a great and independent position. Lord Mayo was held in very slight esteem by the House of Commons but he turned out the best Viceroy ever sent to India. Lord Milner had been a most capable subordinate in Egypt and at the Inland Revenue Office, but in South Africa he revealed himself as the narrow-minded, bitter and masked partisan. On him might be pronounced the memorable verdict, *Omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset.*

It suits the purpose of the ministerial press in these days to profess that the war took the Government by surprise, and that they were taken aback by discovering how formidable was the warlike strength of the Boers. But there is no evidence that the Transvaal and the Free State were ever able to put large forces into the field. Our real difficulty has always been and is still the immense extent and the physical configuration of the country. Our intelligence officers knew the numbers and armament of the enemy, and any one who has the curiosity to look into a file of the *Times* for the first week of September, 1899 will find that that inspired organ, which is known to be devoted to Mr. Chamberlain, boasted of the sufficiency of the forces in South Africa, strengthened by the Indian contingent, to protect the colonies from invasion, and said a larger army would soon be on its way. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt that these calculations would have been proved correct if we had not begun the war in the same arrogant and vain glorious spirit in which we had conducted the diplomatic campaign. The Boers never were strong enough to take the offensive against us anywhere, and the successful defence, not merely of Ladysmith, but even of Kimberley and Mafeking showed the limitations of the enemy's power, and the idleness of the pretence that the integrity of the Empire was endangered. But our first actions consisted in hurling British troops against inaccessible positions held by men who had been trained from childhood to ride and use the rifle; and, when we were hurled back with ignominy, we cried out, like the French, that we had been betrayed. The prolongation of the war brought out in still stronger relief the utter helplessness of the English military system. Mr. Chamberlain compassed sea and land to obtain recruits, he lavished English money like water, and disgusted the regu-

lar soldiers who form the mainstay of the army, in order to bring colonial contingents to South Africa and let them see how imperial officers carried on war. A nice revelation it must have been to them! Then we had the scandalous display of inefficiency made in sending out the first contingent of Yeomen. This, however, has been surpassed by the present year's despatch of the reinforcements asked for by Lord Kitchener. That General does not share Lord Roberts' amiable weakness for making things pleasant all round. He is as courageous as he is clear-sighted, and the despatch he has sent home describing the condition of the new Yeomanry with which he was expected to wage war is simply appalling. No more terrible condemnation of the British War Office has ever been published. No wonder that the war drags on, and that Lord Kitchener is unable, with the means at his command, to finish the work entrusted to him. We try to compensate him for the lack of soldiers by arming him with paper proclamations, but these can be of no effect. We have robbed the Boers of everything worth living for except their love of independence, but they are shrewd enough to know that we have shot our bolt, and can do them no further harm even if they resolve to die fighting. So the war becomes fiercer, more barbarous, and more exasperating every day. There is no limit to the ferocity of Mr. Chamberlain's threats, and he has even told the House of Commons that, if he had his way, he would use black as well as white men to end the war, a statement which only shows his ignorance of mankind and of history, and his inability to understand the race-feeling in a colony like South Africa. Surely he ought to be satisfied with what the war has already done. It has ruined the *morale* of the British army as everybody knows who has read recent letters from soldiers engaged in burning or seizing property and in hunting down the Boers as if they were wild beasts. He has created a feud between Dutch and English which will last for generations, and which makes it impossible for us to maintain peace in South Africa without the constant presence of an overpowering British garrison supported by the block-houses built across the country in which we are imitating the tactics of the men who built the Roman Wall across Britain!

A proud and patriotic people like the English is slow to find fault with a Government engaged in the conduct of a war, but the present inglorious struggle is at last bringing Englishmen to their senses. It was estimated at the end of the Session that the country was spending this year on naval and military forces the enormous sum of 210 millions, but this sum does not cover the whole cost of our armaments

to the Empire. If we add what is spent in India and the Colonies, the Imperial Bill must mount up to fully 250 millions. Such expenditure must stagger even the wealthiest nation in the world. The English tax-payer might not grumble if he got anything good in return for his money. But the War Office remains true to its old traditions in spite of all the teachings of experience, and deserves more than ever its popular nickname of the "Huggermugger" office. The Government seem to have lost all sense of proportion, all grasp of business. Even so moderate a man as Sir M. Hicks-Beach thinks there is nothing ludicrous in saying that the Funds have not fallen so low as they did a century ago when we were grappling in a death-struggle with the genius of Napoleon, commanding all the resources of Europe. Why, we are now engaged in a war of pigmies compared with the battle of giants in which we were then engaged. What Englishmen feel is that, if they cannot vanquish a handful of peasants, their chances in a European struggle would be very small. Lord Chesham says this nation of forty millions of men cannot raise an army of 35,000 mounted men. This can only be because we do not go the right way to work, yet the Government dare not have recourse to the only efficient military weapon, that of conscription, not because the people fear it, but because it would shake the monopoly enjoyed by the men of fashion who hold commissions in the present professional army. The example of France has shown that the creation of a national army, based upon conscription, is the surest guarantee for peace, and for immunity from the street riots and revolutions which were the work of the professional soldiery, yet the English Government will neither have recourse to conscription, nor, in the alternative, offer to the private soldier sufficient pay to attract really good men to the colours.

The defenders of Mr. Chamberlain often urge that, at all events, he has done one good and great work, he has brought the mother-country and the colonies closer together, and raised a hope that they may some day be welded into an Imperial Federation. The loyalty of the colonies is, happily, unbounded, and in their hardy and energetic population a multitude of adventurous spirits can be found eager to fight side by side with Englishmen. A distinguished Canadian, writing when his son had received a commission in the contingent for South Africa, said, "Now we will let Englishmen see we are as good as they are," and this very natural and praiseworthy sentiment had great weight. The Colonists had nothing to do with our quarrel with the Boers, but they loved fighting for the fighting's sake, and they have shown their worth on many a hard-fought field. But it would be an utter mistake to infer from this

comradeship on the battle field—that Colonists are now politically more closely affiliated to the mother-country than they were before. On the contrary, a close observer of the trend of public affairs will see that the Colonists have taken advantage of the war to become completely independent nations. Canada and Australia are associated with us in sentiment, but they have emancipated themselves from the rule of Downing Street, and will brook no interference by the Imperial Parliament. They make their own treaties and frame their own commercial tariffs, and we can no more hope to get submission from them than we can from France or Germany. When Mr. Chamberlain tried to broaden and extend the Imperial Court of Appeal in law cases, he was almost rudely repulsed by our kinsmen over sea, and no one but a child, ignorant even of the rudiments of politics, can think it possible that anyone of our great self-governing Colonies can ever yield allegiance to a Federal Council sitting in London. Mr. Chamberlain must henceforth be content to practise his imperious temper on the savages of the West Coast of Africa, or on the hapless population of the Island of Malta. The rest of the Empire is beyond his reach, and his scheme of Imperial Federation is but the baseless fabric of a vision. The whole edifice of Imperialism with which his name is associated, and which he invented to provide a common ground of action for Conservatives and Liberal Unionists who have no other principle to bind them together, topples to its fall; and the time cannot be far distant when Englishmen, looking back on the humiliating history of recent years, will come to the conclusion that the city of Birmingham, once famous for the manufacture of false gods, has now learned an equally discreditable name by the manufacture of false statesmen.

WESTMINSTER.

[The above article—the internal evidence of which will show it to have been written in London, and by an old politician and House-of-Commons man—is altogether too mild in its estimation of a "man-in-the-street" who has ruined England. Lord Curzon, of course, was too much for the sham pinchbeck Brummasem ware. Lord Curzon may yet lead the true old conservatism.—ED., *C.R.*]

ART. XIII.—EPIDEMIC ZYMOTIC DISEASES IN INDIA.[1]

It seems almost impossible to understand, how anyone—who entertains an interest in the health of the Indian populace, and has watched the health-reports from time to time—can doubt any longer the futility of the measures adopted for combating the plague, as also cholera and malaria; and how any faith in these measures, which might still lurk in the mind, should not vanish before the report of Sir Henry Blake from Hong-Kong about the plague,[2] and how the last vestige of such belief should not disappear before the open admission of failure on the part of the Indian Government?

And equally incomprehensible is it to learn, why attempts at solving the question of: "How to prevent the epidemic diseases in India," should meet with opposition; since on the very face of it, this opposition cannot be justified by any declaration of an interest in the well-fare of the people, nor be defended by an *á priori* dictum of "non-success." The question has long ere this been taken—or truly slipped—out of the hands of those specialists, who have claimed an exclusive knowledge on the subject and have arrogated a special mental aptitude for dealing with it.

With such unreasonable opposition to so laudible an object as that, of solving a question, in which the health and life of hundreds of thousands of human beings is involved—arises the inquiry into the state of mind, which can possibly account for such a hostility; and, under the circumstances, no blame can attach to the expression of doubt about the true motive, whether it is the outcome of professional superciliousness, of egotistic *amour-propre*, or of ignorance about the subject. Whoever entertains an honest concern for the well-being of the suffering people, should hail with pleasure

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[1]—"The Prevention of Epidemic Zymotic Diseases in India and the Tropics generally." By C. Godfrey Gumpel, Author of "Natural Immunity against Cholera;" "Common-Salt. Its Use and Necessity for the Maintenance of Health and the Prevention of Disease;" and "The Plague in India—An Impeachment and an Appeal."

[2] Sir Henry A. Blake's Report from Hong-Kong for the year 1898, (Colonial Report—Annual No. 282), contains the following statement: "The year 1898 witnessed a recurrence of the plague, which carried off 1,175 people. The proportion of Europeans attacked was somewhat greater than during the preceding epidemic. So far medical science appears to be equally at fault as to its prevention and its cure. The most active measures were taken by the health-officers and the Sanitary Board, but without any apparent effect upon the course of the epidemic, which appeared, increased, declined and disappeared synchronously with the epidemic in Canton and other towns where no attempt was made to check its ravages."

an attempt of preventing disease—provided, that such attempt is based on true scientific facts and reasoning, and is not advanced haphazard. The treatise the title of which heads these remarks, contains an appeal for such an attempt; and the question, which is naturally uppermost in the reader's mind is: how far does the author justify us in accepting and supporting his views and furthering his object?

We will endeavour to answer this question, as we think our readers will agree with us in our opinion, that the health and the physical well-being of the people, forms the basis for the industrial and social capabilities and for the fiscal stability of the state. Our object may probably be served best by letting the author speak for himself.

In any inquiry about the possible prevention of epidemic zymotic diseases, there is forced upon our attention most conspicuously the incontestable fact, that "the greater number of people show a natural immunity against these diseases. There are human beings who carry the poison about with them without suffering or yielding to the infection. Others again, when the poison enters their system, suffer only a slight indisposition, scarcely enough to disturb them in their daily avocation; while the susceptible members of the infected community are struck down, and if death does not claim them, the patients linger under the affliction of serious constitutional ailments." How powerfully this insusceptibility asserts itself for the protection against plague is evidenced by the facts, which are related in the Report of the Austrian Plague Commission; and about which the late Dr. Müller remarks: "To come to any conclusion from the escape of people, who are so intimately and so direcly exposed to infection, is almost impossible." And it is almost equally impossible, not to see in these facts the evident proof, that the principal factor for the development of the individual case and for the propagation of an infectious disease, is the individual susceptibility, the predisposition for the disorder; in other words, that "*a natural immunity is the most effective weapon in the combat with an epidemic.*"

If now we wish to obtain an insight into the nature of this susceptibility, we must enquire into those symptoms of the attack, which give to the disease its mortal character; and here we meet with a very definite reply, as obtained from all practical treatises on plague (as also on cholera and malaria), and from the Reports of the several plague-commissions. This reply is most distinctly expressed in the German Report, in which it is declared, that: "*with the entrance of the bacillus into the blood-circulation, and its effect on the red corpuscles, the whole clinical aspect of the*

case, hitherto of a mild and benign character, reveals suddenly serious and alarming symptoms—copious diarrhœa" (as the result of the destruction of the red corpuscles) *indicates the approaching death."*

All evidence serves to show that the bubonic swellings are, in themselves, not contributive to the fatal issue of an attack. But with the destruction of the red corpuscles the blood ceases to supply oxygen to the organism; and this want of oxygen accounts for all the various phenomena, which are observed in every form of this class of maladies.

Deficiency of oxygen in the blood is gradual death to the heart, and Dr. Müller adds: "In not any of the known infectious diseases are the symptoms, connected with the heart, forced upon our attention in the same degree, as in the case of plague. The state of the heart dominates the course of the attack. *The patient perishes from weakness of the heart,*"[3] although the latter organ may, according to necroscopic evidence, appear perfectly sound As, however, the blood cannot furnish oxygen to the nerve-centres of the heart, this organ ceases to propel the blood to the brain—and death is the inevitable result. The object before us then is: the protection of the blood-corpuscles against the attack of the pathogenic microbes.

The above consideration will make it appear futile to inquire into and quibble about the question: whether poverty, dirt (as such), unwholesome dwellings, low-lying habitations or other climatic surroundings, etc., are the immediate cause in the production of zymotic diseases, for—*the immune, the insusceptible person will not be affected by any of these extra-corporeal conditions.* That, however, such outward circumstances can influence the human body and assist in the development of a susceptibility is undeniable; and to understand the possibility and the probability of such an influence, we must direct our attention to the blood, and endeavour to learn what agency can lower the vitality of this life-giving liquid.

Among the surrounding influences which act upon the internal state of our system, the principal one is unquestionably exercised by water. Not only is it the carrier of disease-germs, but in its purest state it acts like a poison on our organism[4]—although life cannot exist without it. This will no doubt cause astonishment; but facts—as established by incontestable experiments—are too stubborn, to yield to the assertions of the ill-informed.

[3]—Imperial Austrian Plague Report, p. 174.

[4]—Professor Dr. J. Ranke. "Lebens-bedingungen der Nerven." Leipzig, 1868, pp. 53 and 71.

Pure water, when added in sufficient quantity to blood, destroys the red corpuscles; if absorbed by muscular tissue beyond the normal amount it enfeebles the latter;[5] if existing in the nervous substance above the proper per centage, it weakens them and causes susceptibility for influenza, and if absorbed in greater quantity, it first paralyses and finally kills the nerves;[6] if present in the body generally above the normal amount, it imparts to the body a susceptibility for many forms of disease[7] (of which it is only necessary to mention rheumatism).

If we seek information about the cause of internal constitutional zymotic diseases in the volumes of medical authorities, it must excite surprise to notice the almost constant reference to the effects of water; to "exposure to wet," or to "damp surroundings," or other forms, in which our body can come in contact with water—as having, if not directly caused, then certainly contributed to the attack; and in closer inquiry we should meet with a host of ailments, which can be ascribed to the action of moisture in the soil, in the house, to wet clothing or damp bedding—in short, to the action of water externally in contact with our body.

A closer observation of our personal and our friend's habits cannot fail to make us acquainted with the in-ordinate quantity of water, which can be stored in our organism to *assist* in producing a susceptibility for bodily ailments and diseases of various kinds.

It is necessary to say: "assist," since there is another more potent factor, which in a reverse sense, namely: by its deficiency, causes a predisposition for disease, which will now claim our attention. This potent factor is Common-Salt (Sodium chloride, in chemical symbols=NaCl.), which, by its presence in our organism, counteracts the destructive influence of plain water.

Although a great affinity exists between these two inorganic constituents of our body, there seems at the same time a kind of opposition displayed between them; or, shall we say, they act upon each other as moderators; the destructive tendency of the water is moderated (prevented) by the presence of common-salt, and the irritating action of NaCl is subdued by the softening influence of water. And there is no more impressive and striking example of the way in which water and salt act in the human body, than the following experiment. Prick your finger with a clean needle, press out a drop

[5]—Dr. G. Jaeger, whose name is so well known in connection with woollen underclothing, in "Seuchen-festigkeit and Constitutions kraft. Leipsig 1878.

[6]—Professor Ranke, as above.

[7]—Professor Dr. Max von Pettenkofer, in one of his works on cho era.

of blood, and place this on a glass slide under the microscope. With an objective of sufficient power, you will distinguish the blood-cells as of a biconcave disc-form, provided your blood is in a healthy condition. Add to this drop of blood a drop of pure water, and you can observe the blood-cells to swell and to assume a spherical form. A further absorption of water will cause the cells to burst. [8]

If, now, before such destruction takes place, a grain of NaCl is added to the watery blood, you can actually observe the globules (cells) gradually restored to their normal shape; *i.e.*, those cells, which have not been killed (bursted) by the absorbed water, will give up this water to the salt solution, and assume again the healthy disc-form. In those globules in which the distension has gone too far, no alteration will be noticed; they are dead, and of no further use as carriers of oxygen to maintain the life of the organism. And if this destruction happens in the human body to a considerable extent, then disease, and, if not remedied betimes, death will be the result.

But the morbid symptoms, which are the result of the abnormal absorption of water (or watery serum) by the blood-corpuscles, do not commence with the destruction of the latter; long before this occurs—*e.i.*, whilst the globules (corpuscles, or cells) are in this distended swollen condition, which has been designated by some eminent physiologist as their death-form—they have lost their elasticity which enabled them to pass through the finest capillaries, and by their enlarged size they readily occasion more or less extensive stagnation in the circulation of the blood. They have become soft and pappy and lost their function of taking up oxygen from the atmosphere in the lungs—thus laying the foundation for a number of ailments, some of a serious character. The loss of this function will appear more certain, when it is considered, what has been proved by 40,000 experiments on 178 different animals, that the absorption of oxygen enlarges the corpuscles to the extent of one-tenth of their volume. [9] Having increased already through the absorption of a watery serum, they are prevented from taking up the oxygen; and want of oxygen is not only death to the heart, but to every part of our body—to our very existence.

If now NaCl restores and maintains the blood-corpuscles in their healthy condition and enables them to perform the first and foremost function upon which the health and the life of our organism depends—then surely it deserves the

[8]—Lehmann's Physiological Chemistry, and most works on Physiology.

[9]—Manassein's Experiments, reported by Rollet in Hermann's Physiologie. Vol. IVa, p.22.

first consideration among all the means suggested for maintaining our body in health and protecting us against disease.

It has already been stated above, that the dangerous, the mortal symptom of plague is the entry of the pathogenic microbe into the blood-cells; and the same observation applies to malaria and to cholera. It must stand to reason, that the cells in their soft and pappy condition can offer little if any resistance against the plague-bacillus, or the cholera-vibrio, or the malaria-parasite, when one or the other kind of these microbes attack and burrow themselves into the pulpous body of the cells. And thus it is, that *NaCl can protect the system against such morbid and mortal attacks, by extracting the watery serum and giving to the blood-cells a firmer consistency, by which to resist the pathogenic microbe.*

The suggestion of employing common-salt—"*salt that we eat*" [10]—as a prophylactic—or possibly as a curative agent, has been met by the objection (but without absolutely any reason, except the objector's fancy), that NaCl cannot possibly act as a specific against any of these diseases; and that salt is already present in every human body, even when the supply is withheld, so that, did it possess the beneficial power claimed for it, it would exercise this power and prevent an attack without any further addition of it to the system.

In answer to this argument, it is necessary to point out, that NaCl can perform its various functions in the human organism only, when it is present in sufficient quantity—in other words: that the salt, which is contained in the blood-serum to protect the red corpuscles, cannot act in the liver, or furnish the chlorine for the gastric juice, or protect the lymph; that it cannot act like a magical specific, of which one dose will work the wonder; but that it requires to be administered as a daily food to permeate the system with it.

The proportionate amount of NaCl in the blood varies within definite limits. It never or seldom exceeds 6 parts of salt in 1000 parts of blood; and any amount supplied above what is required to maintain that density, is expelled by way of the kidneys. But—either through (1) entire abstinence from the use of it; or (2) taking it in insufficient quantity; or (3) washing it out of the blood by means of immoderate and continuous imbibing of liquids—we can reduce the proportion down to a minimum of 0·25 (in some diseases to 0·20) per cent.[11] This amount is tenaciously

[10]—A medical critic remarked in his review (?) of "Common-Salt:" "The idea of recommending common salt as a medicine—salt *that we eat*." One may wonder how this worthy son of Aesculapius estimates the use of air, viz. the open air treatment for curing consumption: "air that we breathe."

[11]—Becquerel et Rodier, "Traite de Chimie Pathologique." Paris, 1854.

retained, the blood will not part with it; and when more water is added to the blood (which is equivalent to a lowering of the salt-density), in that case a corresponding amount of red corpuscles will be destroyed.

Extensive experiments of eminent physiologists have determined the fact, that the absorption of a watery serum by the blood-cells depends upon the presence of NaCl in the inverse ratio; *i.e.*, the lower the proportion of salt in the serum, the greater is the absorption of the latter by the blood-cells.[12]

It cannot present any great difficulty to show the connection existing between the periodical climatic conditions and the corresponding outbreaks of plague or cholera, and to offer thereby further claims for the employment of NaCl as a prophylactic.

In a warm, dry atmosphere the evaporation from the skin is very active: the body is deprived of water and thirst is the result, to quench which, leads to imbibing quantities of liquid. In many instances the latter is resorted to—not to quench thirst, but to cool the body, which thus tends to surcharge the system with water. All liquid—whether originally taken as plain water, or in the form of tea, coffee, milk, soup, or the different table-waters—which leaves the body by way of the kidneys, or in less degree as perspiraton by the skin, deprives the blood of NaCl; the salt is washed out of the blood, and, unless a corresponding amount is taken to replace the loss, it must naturally follow, that the proportion of salt in the blood reaches sooner or later its minimum, and produces susceptibility for, and in many case already an attack of one or the other of the raging diseases. But now follows rainy weather; the air is charged with moisture; this checks evaporation from the skin, and—as drinking even of plain water, often becomes a pernicious habit, which is extended beyond the period of warm weather—the body is surcharged with water and a watery state of the blood is the result; the system has developed a high degree of susceptibility for disease, the form and severity of which is determined by the pathogenic influences, that may be active at the time. Plague, Cholera, Malaria, Dysentery, and Fevers will successfully attack the body; and the general popular view that either having caught a cold, or having been exposed to rain or to a damp atmosphere, as the immediate cause of the ailment, can be interpreted by this salt-impoverished state of the sufferer.

What the natural history of the bacillus cannot account for,

[12]—Zuntz, in "Fortschritte der Medizin." Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 100. The latest researches have ascertained, that the standard saline solution, which does not affect the blood either chemically or physically, must contain (not 0·6, as hitherto assumed, but) 0·9 to 1 per cent. of NaCl. Rudolph Hober in Biologisches Central-blatt. Leipsig. Vol. 18, No. 21. November 1898.

is thus simply explained by the individual susceptibility, as produced by personal habits in the use or non-use of NaCl and by the relative watery state of the blood.

A cold and dry or a warm and dry atmosphere meets with general approval; but cold and wet weather produces one kind —, and warm and wet weather (heat and moisture in the tropics) produce another—, the so-called tropical diseases—all for want of NaCl in the human body.

In further support of the claims of NaCl for a practical experiment of its employment against zymotic diseases, is the practical success, that has already been achieved in Hamburg during the cholera epidemic in 1892. After all other means, which had been tried against cholera, had failed—it was found, that the only remedy left, by which the disease could be beneficially influenced and the sufferer's life could be saved, was the injection into the circulation of a solution of common-salt; it had a wonderful effect in restoring vitality to the dying patient; and repeated injections achieved complete recovery in most cases.[13]

Instead of awaiting the attack and then resorting to the injection of a salt-solution—which requires medical aid,—it will certainly suggest itself (especially during or in expectation of an epidemic) to forestall the attack by permeating the system by the administration of a 1 per cent. (or even stronger) solution of common-salt.

And as the latest outcome of medical science in the treatment of plague, we learn from Professor Calmette's lecture in London (November 22nd, 1900), that in his latest experiments he took "bodies of *dead plague-bacilli free from any trace of toxin*, suspended a certain fixed quantity in *sterilised salt-water* and injected it under the skin or into the veins."[14] Whether or not the good results, said to have been achieved at Oporto, were due to "the dead bacilli *without any trace of toxin*"—or to the injected *salt-water*—is a question, which to answer will not require a profound learning in the much doubted and in bad repute falling practice of serum-injection,[15] but only the simple logic of an unbiased mind.

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[13]—Dr. Sick. "Die Behandlung der Cholera mit intra-venöser Koch-salz Infusion." Also:

Dr. G. Hager. "Die Infusions-therapie der cholera behandelt nach 967 Fällen. Both dissertation contained in "Jahr-bücher der Hamburger Staats-Kranken-Anstalten. Vol. 3.

[14]—Report in "The Times" of November 23rd, 1900.

[15]—Dr. A. Lutaud, (Chief Editor of the "Journal die Medicine de Paris") in "Pasteur and Sero-therapy," shows the complete failure of Pasteur's attempt of preventing and ouring hydrophobia. He says in conclusion of his dissetation: "I can then only endorse the assertions of Peter, of Zienitz, of Virchow, of Purges, of Boucher, of Durr and many others who recognise in the Pasteurian vaccinations not only an error, but also a danger." See also Dr. Bantock. "The modern Doctrine of Bacteriology," London, 1899.

Supported by the above facts and reasoning, more fully worked out in his treatise, the author has appealed to the Indian Government for a practical trial, but has met unfortunately with an evasive reply. We say "unfortunately;" since we are convinced, that few of our readers will fail to admit, that the author has made out a very strong point in favour of his contention—when after all no harm can result, beyond the expense of such a trial.

He makes suggestions for the *modus operandi* of such a trial, the cost of which, on a liberal scale, he estimates at £500; and now makes an appeal to the people of India, to form an association (similar to those established in Europe for the "Open Air Treatment of Tuberculosis") the object of which would be: —

(1) To collect the funds for the experiment—estimated at £500;

(2) To petition the Government for its sanction—if not active support—to obtain a status before the public;

(3) To select the community in which plague or cholera has broken out;

(4) To arrange the superintendence and the details of the experiment. In this latter—the practical work of the trial—the author thinks, it may probably be expected that intelligent and public-spirited gentlemen of leisure and independence will offer their assistance, considering the noble and grand object to be achieved. His appeal ends with the weighty words: "what is the expenditure of even £1,000 for such an experiment, in view of the promising and incalculable benefit that will accrue for all mankind from the undertaking? It is no exaggeration when declaring, that the whole subject is of unsurpassed and of far-reaching importance for the future of the human race."

NOTE ON COMMON-SALT IN THE HUMAN BODY.

The life of the human body is sustained by the constant supply of oxygen to all parts of the organism.

For want of oxygen the nervous system ceases to act, the brain loses its powers; unconsciousness, fainting fits and syncope result; furthermore, for want of oxygen in the blood and for want of a supply of oxygen to the nerve-centres of the heart, this organ ceases to pulsate and stagnation in the circulation of the blood is the consequence and with this stagnation life ebbs away. To insure a normal supply of oxygen to the system, the blood must be in a condition to absorb the oxygen from the atmosphere in the lungs. In a watery state of the blood the blood-corpuscles swell and lose the power of taking up the oxygen thus causing the above cited morbid and mortal symptoms.

The evil effects of a watery state of the blood are counteract-

ed by the presence of chloride of sodium in the blood-serum. It restores the red corpuscles to their normal condition, in which alone they are able to act as carriers of oxygen ; and it prevents besides the destructive effect of water on the nervous matter and on the muscular tissues of the organism. In short : it protects the heart from weakness and the nerves from loss of vitality.

It has been designated by some American "Scientists" as the "Elixir of Life;" but—although it cannot deserve this grandiloquent name—it certainly can claim to be classed as one of the principal factors for our physical well-being, as it is of unequalled importance for the human organism. It not only protects the blood, but also the lymph.

It keeps the albumen of the blood and of the lymph in a soluble condition (Lehmann).

It prevents the too watery state of the brain and of the nerves. It regulates and intensifies the flow of all the various fluids on which the life of the organism depends (Voit).

It is essential for the action of the liver, and forms a necessary constituent of the bile (Liebig).

It is the medium for the elimination of effete, used up and hence poisonous organic substances out of the body, and is thus the best and the most natural purifier of the blood (Liebig). In short :

It is a never-failing component part of the animal economy ; it is absolutely necessary for the growth and the continued existence of the human body ; *there is no other substance in the whole universe which can replace it,* and to abstain from it absolutely leads to certain disease and death.

Evolutionary biological researches have forced upon us the conclusion, that man had his origin in the shallow parts of the sea ; that the thread of human life commenced in salt-water ; that, as Professor Ranke expresses it : "In the blood we still carry the sea in our body ;" and most significant of all : *the embryonic development of every human being takes place in salt-water*—the Amnion water, which—certainly not from accident, as some vegetarian ignorant fanatics may assert—contains about one per cent. of mineral ingredients, chiefly common-salt.

All facts and all experience point to the conclusion that human life finds its element not in plain water but in Sea or Salt-Water.*

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* We question the statements in the last two paras.—ED., *C.R.*

ART. XIV.—MO ROISGEAL DHU.

(MY BRIGHT DARK ROSE.)

1.

Care seems o'er all the land to brood,
Mist veils the hills.
What wonder that a sullen mood
Each valley fills?
With skull I'd bale the sea till dried,
Though deep it flows,
To woo thee, win thee for my bride,
O bright dark rose.

2.

Sweet love, look not so sad and grave,
All's well with thee,
Thy breth'ren home from o'er the wave
Sail on the sea,
With blessings from the Pope, with wealth
To soothe thy woes,
With Spanish wine to drink a health
To the bright dark rose.

3.

For thee to roam the world I'm fain,
To scale each hill,
Thy love, thy confidence to gain,
Thy sweet good will,
Who was it whispered in mine ear
"For thee she shows
Her love"—That maiden fair and dear
My bright dark rose.

M. R. WELD.

These words fit the air given (with Irish words) at p. 14 of Joyce's "Irish Music and Song" and are a close translation of the Irish words.

ART. XV.—DAYBREAK.

I.

We are waiting for the clouds to break,
  We are watching for the dawn,—
For the *first faint flush of the rosy light*,
  For the first soft flood of the sunbeams bright,
For the sweet, long-tarrying morn.

There are shadows now on heath and hill,
  And the drifting clouds *look gray;*
And the *stars still linger;* and still the gleam
  Of the moonlight silvers the meadow stream
As it glides along its way.

There will soon be *slender lines of gold*
  In the dim, dark, *eastern sky*,
And above the mountain *a crimson streak*,
  And *a purple tint* on each pine-crowned peak,
That will bid the night-gloom fly.

Then, the moon's fair rays will all grow pale,
  And the star-gleams fade away;
And the cold, calm heavens be blue and bright;
  And the *clouds be crested and fringed* with light,—
With the tender light of day.

And the stream will shine among the reeds,
  And the lilies by the lake
Will unfold their buds; while the *wood-birds sing*
  Till the copse and forest and valley ring,
And the mountain echoes wake.

There is nothing half so fair on earth
  As the first bright *blush of dawn*,
When the shadows die in a flood of light,
  And the clouds and darkness are put to flight
By the sunbeam hosts of morn.

THE CREATION OF ADAM.

Genesis I.

II.

Still, still with Thee, when *purple morning breaketh*,
When the *bird waketh* and the shadows flee,
Fairer than morning, lovelier than daylight,
Dawns the sweet consciousness, I am with Thee.

Alone with Thee, amid the mystic shadows,
The *solemn hush of nature newly-born;*
Alone with Thee in breathless adoration,
In the calm dew and freshness of the morn.

As in the dawning, o'er the waveless ocean,
The *image of the Morning Star doth rest;*
So in this stillness, Thou beholdest only
Thine image in the waters of my breast.

* * * * *

So shall it be at last, in that bright morning,
When the soul waketh, and life's shadows flee;
Oh, in that hour, fairer than daylight dawning,
Shall rise the glorious thought—I am with Thee! *

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* The two preceding pieces have been sent to us for insertion as containing a beautiful "figure of Adam's Creation." They are not original as we have seen them somewhere before, though we believe their authors are unknown. —ED. *C.R.*

ART. XVI.—THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

LORD CURZON's memorable address at Simla on Monday, September 2nd, has completely changed the educational outlook. It is not merely that the whole field of education in this country has been reviewed with all the weight that the highest position in India can give to such a survey, and with a full consciousness of the responsibility involved in that position; nor again that this great position is by rare good fortune combined with a personal claim that all acknowledge. The whole subject has been lifted on to a different plane: its problems become practical questions instead of being to a large extent idly speculative. This is an immense gain.

But the actual passage from the speculative field to the practical has still to be made. That something will be *done* as a result of the deliberations lately going on at Simla is certain; but it is all-important *what*. Taken in its entirety the question is colossal. Every branch of the subject—Lord Curzon recognized no less than six; four main branches, University Education, Secondary Education, Primary Education, Technical Education, and two subsidiary branches, Training Colleges and Female Education—is in itself a big question. It is true these are ultimately connected and are rightly co-ordinated in one vast scheme. But the vastness of the whole subject is even bewildering, and when it comes to practice, each one of these great questions requires special knowledge and experience; the methods that are proper in one branch do not altogether apply to another. This paper will be confined to one only, the University question. Its scope will be even narrower: it will consider only the Calcutta University; for along with common features each University has an individuality, which it would not be altogether a gain to take from it. The problem of each University, the changes needed or not needed, will, in each case, be somewhat different according to circumstances. The problem of the Calcutta University is, at all events, definite, concrete, pressing. Something would be gained by a review of this more special problem: such a review is a contribution towards the general solution, a necessary preliminary.

If it is granted, as it seems to be on all hands, that the Calcutta University needs reform, both constitutional and administrative, what is the first definite step to be taken? In what direction is it to be altered and by what means? As soon as the question is plainly stated and answers begin to be supplied, divergences, even the greatest are certain to occur.

The present paper will attempt an answer to one part of the question only, the question of the education imparted and examination tests; and it will approach this from a single point of view—the teacher's. There are many other points of view, and it is expedient that all these should find voice. But the teacher's point of view deserves a hearing, and although among teachers also there are sure to be differences of opinion, any one definite statement has such value as the reasoning it contains can give it. This is all the claim made here.

As regards the Calcutta University at the present time, broadly three courses and three only are possible. We can leave the existing system of education as it is, only modifying the constitution of the Senate and trusting to such gradual improvement as the newly-constituted Governing Body may be expected to effect. Secondly, we may devise some method of overhauling the existing system with a view to tinkering here and there. Or thirdly, we may attempt to formulate a general reconstructive scheme, which, within a limited number of years, might reshape the existing order to a better model. Without any pretension to so large a design as this last, the present paper will make tentative suggestions in that direction. As already advanced, all views require to be stated, and this is one, the most courageous and the most thorough-going; like the others it needs to be stated.

As regards the other two courses it may be remarked briefly that a reorganised Governing Body must either proceed forthwith to some such attempt, or leave things very much as they were before. It would carry out its task much more effectually, if it started with a definite programme and were equipped with full authority to carry through the needed reforms in a limited time. As regards the second it has the advantages and disadvantages of all middle courses, but it cannot in any degree be effective, unless directed by settled guiding principles towards definite ends: and this again implies a scheme of reconstruction. Accordingly it would seem that, whichever course we advocate, and however we approach the practical problem, a systematic reconstructive scheme is somewhere implied. Every tentative towards such a scheme furnishes materials for the ultimate reconstruction, if only by way of elimination and rejection.

Given, then, such a scheme of reconstruction as desirable, it is expedient first to consider existing defects, in order that the special ends towards which the reconstruction is to be directed, may be determined. It may be laid down that the shortcomings of the present system are:—

1. The unreal character of the education given: the education is largely a sham education.

The holders of degree are in too many cases not in any real sense educated.

2. The system is too pretentious. Its curricula are exceedingly elaborate, and if they were thoroughly carried out, the education would be real and solid: but they are not thoroughly carried out.

3. They are not thoroughly carried out mainly because the students who follow them are not really fit for the tasks attempted. They are taxed beyond their intellectual strength and consequently adopt shifts and expedients, which frustrate the true ends of education. Education resolves itself into a fevered struggle to 'pass' by hook or by crook.

4. The chief reason of the inaptness of the students for their curricula is their inadequate knowledge of English, the language through which their studies are carried on. A second reason is the early adoption of vicious methods of study. They start with bad habits, which ought to be unlearned, but are not.

We now have something like our required starting-point. We must contrive in some way to raise the standard of English. So long as we confine ourselves to the University and its regulative machinery, this can be done only by means of the Entrance Examination. If the case has been correctly diagnosed above, the first step in our reconstruction is necessarily *the raising of the standard of English at the Entrance Examination*. How can this be done? I conceive in one of two ways. There would be much to be said, if it were at all possible, for a Preliminary Examination in English, strict within a certain limited range: that is to say, a strict test of the ability to understand moderately difficult literary English and to write correctly in a plain and simple style. Best of all, perhaps would be a *vivâ voce* test, at all events to supplement the written in doubtful cases.

Is a *vivâ voce* test possible? Probably not: at the same time it is permissible to glance at the conditions involved: something is even gained by so doing. There is, conceivably just one way in which it might be compassed. Examiners might go round and hold this preliminary test at certain centres. The test would then have to be of the simplest nature, reading, a few *vivâ voce* questions and the writing of a short essay or letter. The undertaking though a large one

is not, perhaps, quite absolutely impossible.* The efficacy of the test would depend entirely on the examiners. They would at least know what standard was required and have the means of applying it.

But as there is the smallest likelihood of a preliminary test of this kind being adopted, it remains to consider whether the examination as now held can be in any way modified, so as to make it more effective as a test. My belief is that the present examination might be altered with advantage in two respects:—

(*a*) a slightly different arrangement of the papers;

(*b*) the requirement of a higher percentage of pass marks.

The papers now set in English are two; the first on selections of literature set as a text-book,† the second in translation from the vernacular, and in Grammar and Composition, the percentage which now passes is 33 per cent. The modification I propose are these:—

(*a*) Two papers as at present, but the first to consist of translation from the vernacular and English composition; the second to be on the text-books and on *general* English Grammar.

(*b*) Pass marks 50 per cent.

With these two changes the rest of the examination might be left as at present.

The proposed re-arrangement of the papers differs verbally but slightly from the present regulations. Its actual effect, if adopted, would be very different. One whole paper is now given virtually to work on the text-books and conceivably a candidate may get his whole 66 pass-marks on this paper.‡ As proposed above the half-paper on the text-book would carry 50 marks only; 50 would be given to translation into English; 50 to original composition in English,§ and 50 to

* The sum can be worked out. The examination of each candidate might be expected to be on the average twenty minutes. A single examiner could hardly be expected to examine more than twenty candidates in a day. It would then take 10 examiners 5 days to examine 1,000 candidates. Thus 5,000 candidates would take 25 working days on this basis; 6,000 would take 30.

† 'The text-books and questions on Grammar the Calendar says (Rules for Examinations, p. 150), but the interpretation of the amount of grammar varies.

‡ Out of the total of 200 assigned to English, 120 marks are apportioned to the first paper (text-book and questions), 80 to the second paper (translation and composition). See Calendar for 1901, p. 151.

§ Out of 80 marks in the second paper, 26 are assigned to the translation from the vernacular, while the marks given to pure composition have sunk from 24 in 1890 (short essay and letter) to 6 and 7 (for an original letter of 100 words) in the last two papers published (See Calendar for 1901, pt. III, p. xix; Calendar for 1900, pt. III, p. xvii; Calendar for 1891, pt. III, p. xiii).

English Grammar and that wonderful mental gymnastic known as composition exercises.

This alteration with the demand for 50 per cent. pass-marks would ensure that the successful candidate really knew a little of the English language; it would test something more than an ability to 'get up' text and notes as a memory exercise. Whether a sufficient knowledge of English is in popular estimation at present acquired receives curious illustration from a sentence given for correction in a recent Entrance paper. It runs: "He was very much angry, because, although he was two years more senior than I, he was failed, and I was *passed in First Division.*" This seems a little to countenance the wicked inference that the sentence is offered as a typical, or let us say possible, specimen of 'First Division English.'

This amount of change might reasonably be expected to effect something in the required direction. Such a change could not be introduced abruptly and at once. Sufficient time would need to be given for the schools to adapt their teaching to the requirements of the new standard. It might take effect in 1905 or 1906, and as a further precaution against the disturbing effect of sudden change the pass percentage might be raised gradually, 40 in 1906, 45 in 1908 and 50 in 1910. The type of paper set should simultaneously be slightly changed, if possible, in the direction of simplicity. It should be as easy as possible consistently with a thorough test of essentials.

The net result to be expected would be a decreased total of successful Entrance students, but these would possess a better outfit for the studies before them. What of the rejected? Their number is already too great; something must, if possible, be done for them, or at the least their case needs consideration. A well-devised Final Schools Examination would go a long way towards a solution; but I incline to think that this should be an examination wholly distinct from the Entrance as at Bombay, not in large part identical with it as at Allahabad. So far as this examination tested English it should be as a modern language and for the practical purposes of life—for commercial purposes, if you will; the literary side should be subordinate or absent. In fact, most of those who study English in this country should study it as a living language to write and speak, not as a 'classical' language. In other words the method of instruction should be that of Ollendorf or something equally practical. This examination should, accordingly, meet the requirements of all those, who, while making good progress in other respects, had not the attainments indispensable for the pursuit of more advanced studies through the medium of English.

At all events this is really our problem at the present time:

so to sift the youth of Bengal taught in High English Schools that those who are fit may go on to higher studies, literary and scientific, with assured hope of profit; while those who are not fit are drafted off in other directions. We want to give opportunities of better education to the more fit, and, at the same time, to make suitable provision for the great numbers who at present grapple unprofitably with courses of study too difficult for them. The final schools certificate would meet the needs of a great number of these, in particular of some of that great number who never pass the Entrance Examination at all.

The sifting process might be carried a stage higher by a more effectual distinction of Honour and Pass men among the students admitted to colleges. We want on the one hand to simplify the courses of study for the ordinary Pass degree, incidentally making them less extensive in range, but insisting on a higher standard within these limits. On the other hand we want Honour degrees of a higher character and more thoroughly differentiated. This brings us to the courses of study after Matriculation and to the F. A. and B. A. examinations.

We started by assuming as the practical end at which we were to aim the substitution of a real education for a sham. The position was that even when after great stress and effort our average B. A. is made, he turns out not to be educated in any real sense at all. If this is admitted—and no one has been heard as yet maintaining the contrary—our object must be to give him a more real education. It is no good, however, making our degree more difficult to obtain, unless we want to eliminate our average 'pass-man' altogether; but we might possibly get better results with more modest curricula and a higher standard in these. This is what I advocate for the 'pass' man. Make the curriculum easier and make the standard of passing higher. In this way we might make our education, as far as it went, real, though it might not make so good a show on paper. We should not educate up to a high standard, but we should be educating on sound lines. I mean something like this. In the First Arts Examination we now prescribe five 'subjects' as Compulsory and allow a sixth as Optional. This is too many, not more than four should be taken up simultaneously. I should be willing to admit a moderate degree of specialization in the F.A.; to allow a candidate to choose between a group of subjects mainly literary, or mainly scientific, in fact to introduce A. and B. courses at this earlier stage. Or, if the reasons for covering this wide range of subjects should be held valid, they might be taken up in groups *successively*. What I contend for is that the number of subjects at present prescribed is too many to be studied together profitably by

ordinary F. A. students. Their minds are distracted and overburdened. What I ask for, would even plead for, is some lightening of this burden (in this or some other way) in the interests of the students and in the hope of better educational results.

Then in respect of the several subjects: I submit that the task imposed in English is still too much for the average F. A. student considering his very imperfect knowledge of English and the extraordinary deficiency of ideas with which he starts. For instance the books prescribed for next year's examination are *Paradise Lost, Book I, The Traveller* and *The Deserted Village*, Tennyson's *Aylmer's Field*, some 140 octavo pages of *Cowper's Letters* and a *Life of Oliver Goldsmith* by William Black—I would regretfully but resolutely cut out the book of Paradise Lost as far above the student's intellectual reach, and I should query the life of Goldsmith as in parts dimly comprehensible by reason of the quality of its literary excellence. The total bulk is not indeed very great for a two-years' course: yet I am persuaded that our only chance of passable educational results with students of the present calibre is by an *extraordinary simplification* of the task we set them. The whole question of English text-books is hedged with perplexity, but more might be done than has been done as yet toward fixing principles and establishing a kind of canon. I shall have occasion to return later on to this point.

As regard other subjects, without pronouncing one way or other, I should wish it carefully considered, if we were not asking too much Mathematics (Trigonometry and Logarithms) for indiscriminate application: whether the Physics and Chemistry could not be made more practical, the History less in extent and deeper.

To compensate for this simplification and relaxation, I would require a higher percentage of 'pass-marks,' at all events in the aggregate (but not specially now in English only), and I would establish Honour courses. The Honour courses should be two and two only, the one literary, the other scientific. On the literary side the papers might be in English, a second language, in History and in Logic. On the scientific in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and *either* History or Logic. We should take care to make these courses really mean a high degree of proficiency, and we should make it impossible for any one to get Honours who had not this proficiency.

Here we might surely learn from the London University, which we are so often told is our prototype. At the London Intermediate Examination in Arts Honours may be taken in one or more of *eight* subjects (1) Latin, (2) Greek, (3) English, (4) History, (5) French, (6) German, (7) Mathematics, (8) Logic [see the Calendar of the London University (1899—1900),

p. 53 cf. p. 47-49]. At London the candidate must take up five subjects : we should so far be lenient in asking only four. One thing should never be left out of account in quoting the University of London as the model for Calcutta. Of all British Universities none is more exacting in its standards than the University of London. If it errs anywhere, it is on the side of stringency and inflexibility. We may fitly, nay we must necessarily, adopt less exacting standards, for Calcutta—the worst fault of our system at present is that it affects high standards and even attains to some semblance of such, without really applying them. But it is the variest mockery to appeal to London in excuse for any laxity in the Indian system. The London standards are strict and the London degrees are very hard-earned. Accordingly they carry great weight anywhere. When Calcutta is equally strict, the result will be the same.

The F. A. Examination leads on to the examination for the B. A. degree. The Degree Examination must be co-ordinated with it. We again require a comparatively simple Pass course or courses; and now considerably greater elaboration in Honour courses. We already have an A. and B. Course for the Pass, and this may stand. Only it might be well to diminish the extent of ground covered and insist on more depth, so as to ensure sounder knowledge, while lightening the burden of details to be carried. In the A. Course we have, I conceive, extended the course in Mental and Moral Science somewhat too widely. Six years ago (before the year 1897) we only asked a knowledge of two specified text-books, difficult text-books it is true. We now prescribe a syllabus of indefinite extent in three subjects, Psychology, Ethics and Logic. But I have long doubted whether it would not be really better to set, in the Pass Course two or more short philosophical 'classics'—Descartes, Berkeley, Hume—and to reserve the syllabus in Psychology and Ethics for Honour men. I conceive that better results for general education could be got from such a combination as Descartes on Method and Berkeley's Principia (or Dialogues), or even a little Hume along with Mill's Utilitarianism—or even better Kant's Metaphysic of Morals *—and a translation of certain portions of Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics. The advantage of these works I take to be their excellence as a foundation to build upon and the scope they would afford the teacher in exposition and criticism. Some of these are in fact adopted in the B. A. Pass courses of other of the Indian Universities.†

* The Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals.

† Bombay prescribes the '*Nicomachean Ethics*'; Allahabad, *Berkeley's Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous* and *Hume's Inquiry* concerning

In English we should confine Pass studies in poetry to the great classics as now and mainly to modern prose; and we should try to fix principles of selection a little more definitely. Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, as now, are obviously right in poetry, I think also clearly some of Matthew Arnold's poetry, especially the narrative poems: other selections are doubtful. Prose is a more difficult problem: in all Pass courses we want typical modern prose as far as possible, judiciously selected biography may pass, but Burke and Macaulay are 'suspect.' They form rather too stimulating a diet for our Pass students, unallied with wide general reading. Our prose should be eminently sober, not too complex as to subject matter, and, above all, lucid in style: certain of Matthew Arnold's essays I take it might form the standard. Philip Gilbert Hamerton is another writer who at once occurs to me as in all respects suitable. There are many more, but they require selecting with patient care and a refined process of sifting and rejecting.

I incline to think that in the B. A. we should not require more than two subjects* for the Pass degree and should allow considerable choice in the combination of these. I should not oppose these subjects being taken up separately. The only objection is the undesirability of multiplying examinations. But in all cases I should insist inexorably on a high standard in respect of the work offered, whether Pass or Honours.

In Honours, we should now be free to elaborate at our pleasure and we should make our Honour standard high in every sense. The cardinal point, I conceive, is that in every subject the Honour course should be taught separately from the Pass. At present Honour and Pass students largely attend the same lectures—an almost incredible arrangement. In English an attempt should be made to systematize the studies and round them off into some sort of unity. The elements of English Philology should certainly be included: the History of English Literature more doubtfully: at all events, I conceive that limitation to a period would be preferable (*e.g.*, 1579 to 1800). Set books might now be imposed on some scale. For instance all Milton's Minor Poems with six books of Paradise Lost, alternated with the six later books together with Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes. Milton, as the English classic poet pre-eminently, should be our staple. Of Shakespeare we might appoint half a dozen plays for general reading with special critical study of one or two. We should want

Human understanding (also *Butler's Fifteen Sermons and Dissertation on Virtue* another possible choice in Ethics); the Panjab University has lately introduced Selections from Berkeley.

* If only two subjects were taken up would be less reason for shortening any of the separate courses.

at least one other poet and the difficulty would now be how to decide between conflicting claims. For Honours practically the whole range of English Literature is open to us, because we may expect the literary instinct in our Honour candidates in Literature. We could not require it of our pass-men. So also in prose we can now freely recall Burke and Macaulay along with Bacon and Charles Lamb, Carlyle and De Quincey. Breadth of reading will now be an aim, but always controlled by the still more important principles of thoroughness and unity.

Whether Mathematics and Science as taught in connection with the Calcutta University might, also with advantage, be subjected to a review such as I have applied on the literary side I leave to the consideration of those whose first interest is in these branches of study. The touchstone must be the same—reality and thoroughness with an added insistence in the case of Physical Science of the supreme importance of good grounding and practical aims.*

In our M. A. courses in English, as was pointed out in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1896, we lose a great opportunity. Let me enforce this doctrine by a recital of the studies of an M. A. student as by law established.

For this year 1901 we prescribe: Chaucer—*Canterbury Tales. Prologue and Knight's Tale.* Shakespeare—*Cymbeline, Henry VI (Parts I and II), Othello, The Merry Wives of Windsor.* Marlowe—*Faustus.* Milton.—*Paradise Lost Books X, XI, XII.* Dryden—*Select Satires: Absalom and Achitophel, The Medal, MacFlecknoe.* Taylor—*Philip Van Artevelde.* Sir Thomas Browne—*Hydriotaphia or Urn Burial.* Bacon—*The Advancement of Learning Books I and II.* Carlyle—*On Heroes.* Hutton—*Literary Essays.* Holmes—*The Professor at the Breakfast Table.* George Eliot—*Scenes of Clerical Life.* Besides these, as aids to the study of English Language and Literature we recommend: Morris—*Historical Outlines of English Accidence.* Smith—*Student's Manual of the English Language.* Taine's *History.* Dowden—*Shakespeare's Mind and Art.* Sweet—*Anglo-Saxon Primer.* Sayce—*Introduction to the Science of Language.*

This list speaks for itself; it is vastly ingenious, but nothing similar will be found in the pages of the Calendar of the University of London, though we search it from cover

* In the Calendar of the University of London this *Note* is prefixed to the Syllabus on General Elementary Science for the Matriculation Examination (Cal., 1899-1900, p. 39). "*In particular, the subjects of the present Syllabus will be treated wherever possible from an experimental point of view and numerical examples or problems will be restricted to very simple calculations.*"

to cover. I feel inclined to treat these lists as Plato was for treating the poets in his ideal republic—anoint them with myrrh, crown them with garlands, but send them away 'to another city.' There is no room for them in ours.

The opportunity we lose is that of making our studies for the M. A. degree a stepping-stone to genuine research in English Literature. This we could do by making the study of Anglo-Saxon something more than a mere scratching of the surface. We might allow a choice of specialization either on the literary or the philological sides of the subject. We should then want no prescribed text-books, except perhaps in Anglo-Saxon. A possible arrangement would be one paper in the general history of the language, one in the general history of the literature, two in a special period prescribed on the literary side balanced by two in the special study of Anglo-Saxon, and an essay.

This completes the review from my present standpoint. If anything here put forward seem too dogmatically stated, I can only say that the dogmatism is unintentional and apparent only. The intention is wholly tentative, a process of search. The aim is to quicken interest. There is not one of the suggestions hazarded that I should set any great store by in the precise form in which it is expressed—save and except *the raising of the standard of English at the Entrance Examination.* This I regard as necessary and indispensable whatever else we do or leave undone. For the rest it is principles and tendencies that matter; the definite suggestion is only made as earnest of an endeavour to be practical.

Any changes that are made can only be made slowly; the actual process of transition must be a lengthy one; it will take several years to get any system that departs widely from the present into full working order. But we seem to be at a definite parting of the ways. An effort is possible now—it may or may not prove successful—to give a more healthy and fruitful direction to the education fostered by the University of Calcutta. If this opportunity passes, no other so favourable is likely to occur again. It would seem that through a laudable desire to advance, the Calcutta University has attempted to advance too rapidly; its apparent is much greater than its real progress, the result being to give, as I have already implied, a somewhat 'shoddy' character to its whole system. This cannot be set right without considerable effort and some sensible discomfort. But the gain, if higher education could be put on a sound basis, would be worth the sacrifice.

I suppose so dull a paper as this has never before been found in the pages of the *Calcutta Review.* The dullness will

be to a great extent condoned by any one who appreciates the vital importance of the issues involved. The loftiest aspirations after improvement are all reducible in the end to sordid details such as these. We are, moreover, still very much in twilight as to the more special and mediate ends and aims of university education in India. It is expedient that we should become more fully aware of what precisely we are trying to do in the educational schemes we devise, for it is only in relation to this end that we can judge of the fitness of this or that detail. It is plain that even if the ultimate end be the same as that of all education, the mediate end must take in India a special and peculiar character, and this ought to be susceptible of articulate statement.

As regards the particular question here treated the manipulation of curricula, I am glad to be able to quote valuable testimony to its importance. Mr. P. A. Barnett writes in *Common Sense in Teaching and Education*, one of the most recent and thoughtful contributions to the literature of the subject, p. 94, "Curriculum is important because it provides the main material, the main food, out of which are made mind and character. We cannot get equally good results from one set of studies as from another, any more than we can profit equally by different sorts of food. Some foods are more digestible than others, better fitted for assimilation by the body, more easily made into bone and muscle and nerve; so some studies, or some arrangements of studies, are better than others for building up mind and character." It is to be feared that in Bengal the food has hitherto been too strong in quality, too great in quantity, and too miscellaneous, for the assimilative capacity of the ordinary student. *Alma mater* would be wise to adapt her diet to the feeble digestive powers of her nurselings.

This is why I think it of importance to try and determine scientifically the sort of books most suitable for Indian students in their English courses at the various stages of their education. This by no means implies that our practice hitherto has been all wrong, or even very seriously wrong, but only that something would be gained by a conscious effort to arrive at principles. If the principles could be agreed upon and formulated, and then the whole field of English literature were sifted by their means, I think that a 'canon' of text-books might be fixed not, of course, with absolute finality, but sufficiently for practical guidance. I think that prevailing ideas on the subject might be made clearer than they now are. I do not think the subject of English text-books has been satisfactorily 'threshed out,' and I do think something might be expected from the attempt to determine principles formally and

authoritatively. I do not find there is as yet any clear recognition, what distinctive characters should be looked for in a text-book for the F. A., for the B. A., for B. A. Honours. I think the principles might be determined partly by a patient collation of the opinions of those who have most knowledge and experience, partly by a consideration of the psychological means by which the educational end may be reached.

The other questions in respect of the Calcutta University demanding consideration and not less important are many. Even in respect of the examination system, there is the question of the conduct of examinations and of the measures necessary to check mere memory-work. Probably a good deal might be done to outwit 'cram' by judicious combination among examiners, but it must be deliberate and common action. There are the large questions of teaching methods and of the organization of the college. Teaching is at present wholly or mainly by lectures, but there are far too many lectures given for those so-called lectures to be lectures in the strict sense—that is each lecture a finished presentment of some aspect or section of a subject, the distilled result of the lecturer's special experience and study. Yet they are not frankly and professedly class-teaching, such as is practised in schools. *Is* lecturing or class-teaching the proper business of the college 'professor?' Is personal and individual teaching desirable? Is it possible? Then outside the routine of instruction, what is possible in the way of making a college more of a living organism? Can anything be done to give it more unity, to make the members of a college, teachers and learners and even the college servants, realize this unity? I am not even sure that at quite every college in Bengal it is as yet customary to hold regular meetings of the teaching staff, like the Masters' meetings at English Public Schools and Tutorial meetings at English Colleges, for exchange of views and the facilitation of common action.

I believe this question of the college and its individual unity to be the most important of all at the present time, so much so that I should be prepared to subordinate the University question to it. For in education it is the actual teaching and training which is the important thing, all the rest is means to an end. The end is education; the organization of college, university, examinations, is all means to this end. As in other things, so here the tendency is to put the means before the end. We elaborate machinery, which is comparatively easy, and the true end, the formation of mind and character, sinks into the second place. And in this connection it is permissible, I think, to wonder, whether a departmental organization is really compatible with the deeper purposes of

collegiate education. By departmental I mean a system which makes the college merely a part or member of some larger whole. The most successful educational institutions in this country would, I believe, be acknowledged to be such institutions as the Raj Kumar Colleges, Aligarh, the Martinières, the Medical and Engineering Colleges, all of which occupy a more or less extra-departmental position. Since the flood-gates of speculation have been opened, let us greatly dare—what after all in the field of speculation is one audacity more or less—and permit ourselves to doubt whether in the parallel case of Arts Colleges the departmental organization is really necessary. There is a wide distinction between the functions of inspecting schools and 'professing' a branch of science or literature. Why in India are they treated as identical? Is it not conceivable that the colleges maintained by Government for the general purposes of higher education might each severally be organized—like a School of Art for instance—as a separate and self-contained whole; that, in fine, the college and not the department might be the unit, the living organism one and indivisible? To create an agency which really teaches, which really educates, is, at all events, the question of questions in the now insistent problem of University education in Bengal.

H. R. J.

ART. XVII.—STATUTES OF THE NOBEL FOUNDATION.*

GIVEN AT THE PALACE IN STOCKHOLM, ON THE 29TH DAY OF JUNE IN THE YEAR 1900.

Objects of the Foundation.

§ 1.

THE Nobel Foundation is based upon the last Will and Testament of Dr. Alfred Bernhard Nobel, Engineer, which was drawn up on the 27th day of November 1895. The paragraph of the Will bearing upon this topic is worded thus:

"With the residue of my convertible estate I hereby direct my Executors to proceed as follows: They shall convert my said residue of property into money, which they shall then invest in safe securities; the capital thus secured shall constitute a fund, the interest accruing from which shall be annually awarded in prizes to those persons who shall have contributed most materially to benefit mankind during the year immediately preceding. The said interest shall be divided into five equal amounts, to be apportioned as follows: one share to the person who shall have made the most important discovery or invention in the domain of Physics; one share to the person who shall have made the most important Chemical discovery or improvement; one share to the person who shall have made the most important discovery in the domain of Physiology or Medicine; one share to the person who shall have produced in the field of Literature the most distinguished work of an idealistic tendency; and, finally, one share to the person who shall have most or best promoted the Fraternity of Nations and the Abolishment or Diminution of Standing Armies and the Formation and Increase of Peace-Congresses. The prizes for Physics and Chemistry shall be awarded by the Swedish Academy of Science (Svenska Vetenskapsakademien) in Stockholm; the one for Physiology or Medicine, by the Caroline Medical Institute (Karolinska

* [In our last number we furnished a Despatch from the Home Colonial Office in which reference was made to an official translation in French of the Statutes and Regulations of the great Nobel Bequest. As the subject is of the greatest interest to all scholars throughout the world, and is hardly known or understood properly, we furnish here an equally authentic and official translation in English. We have also arranged for the results of the First Competition (this year) to be furnished to us direct from Norway.—*Ed., C. R.*

institutet) in Stockholm; the prize for Literature by the Academy in Stockholm (*i. e.*, Svenska Akademien) and that for Peace by a Committee of five persons to be elected by the Norwegian Storting. I declare it to be my express desire that, in the awarding of prizes, no consideration whatever be paid to the nationality of the candidates, that is to say, that the most deserving be awarded the prize, whether of Scandinavian origin or not."

The instructions of the Will as above set forth shall serve as a criterion for the administration of the Foundation, in conjunction with the elucidations and further stipulations contained in this Code and also in a deed of adjustment of interests amicably entered into with certain of the testator's heirs on the 5th day of June 1898, wherein subsequent upon the arriving at an agreement with reference to a minor portion of the property left by Dr. Nobel, they do affirm and declare, that: "By these presents we do acknowledge and accept Dr. Nobel's Will, and entirely and under all circumstances relinquish every claim for ourselves and our posterity to the late Dr. Nobel's remaining property, and to all participation in the administration of the same, and also to the possession of any right on our part to urge any criticism upon the elucidations of, or additions to, the said Will, or upon any other prescriptions with regard to the carrying out of the Will or the uses to which the means accruing from the bequest are put, which may either now or at some future time be imposed for observance by the Crown or by those who are thereto entitled;

Subject, nevertheless, to the following express provisoes:—

(*a*) That the Code of Statutes which is to serve in common as a guide for all the corporations appointed to award prizes, and is to determine the manner and the conditions of the distribution of prizes appointed in the said Will, shall be drawn up in consultation with a representative nominated by Robert Nobel's family, and shall be submitted to the consideration of the King;

(*b*) That deviations from the following leading principles shall not occur, *viz.*:

That each of the annual prizes founded by the said Will shall be awarded at least once during each ensuing five-year period, the first of the periods to run from and with the year next following that in which the Nobel-Foundation comes into force, and

That every amount so distributed in prizes in each section shall, under no consideration, be less than sixty (60) per cent.

of that portion of the annual interest that shall be available for the award, nor shall the amount be apportioned to more than a maximum of three (3) prizes."

§ 2.

By the "Academy in Stockholm," as mentioned in the Will, is understood the Swedish Academy—Svenska Akademien.

The term "Literature," used in the Will, shall be understood to embrace not only works falling under the category of Polite Literature, but also other writings which may claim to possess literary value by reason of their form or their mode of exposition.

The proviso in the Will to the effect that for the prize-competition only such works or inventions shall be eligible as have appeared "during the preceding year," is to be so understood, that a work or an invention for which a reward under the terms of the Will is contemplated, shall set forth the most modern results of work being done in that of the departments, as defined in the Will, to which it belongs; works or inventions of older standing to be taken into consideration only in case their importance have not previously been demonstrated.

§ 3.

Every written work, to qualify for a prize, shall have appeared in print.

§ 4.

The amount allotted to one prize may be divided equally between two works submitted, should each of such works be deemed to merit a prize.

In cases where two or more persons shall have executed a work in conjunction, and that work be awarded a prize, such prize shall be presented to them jointly.

The work of any person since deceased cannot be submitted for award; should, however, the death of the individual in question have occurred subsequent to a recommendation having been made in due course for his work to receive a prize, such prize may be awarded.

It shall fall to the lot of each corporation entitled to adjudicate prizes, to determine whether the prize or prizes they have to award might likewise be granted to some institution or society.

§ 5.

No work shall have a prize awarded to it unless it have been proved by the test of experience or by the examination of experts to possess the pre-eminent excellence that is manifestly signified by the terms of the Will.

If it be deemed that not one of the works under examination attains to the standard of excellence above referred to, the sum allotted for the prize or prizes shall be withheld until the ensuing year. Should it even then be found impossible, on the same grounds, to make any award, the amount in question shall be added to the main fund, unless three-fourths of those engaged in making the award determine that it shall be set aside to form a special fund for that one of the five sections, as defined by the Will, for which the amount was originally intended. The proceeds of any and every such fund may be employed, subject to the approval of the adjudicators, to promote the objects which the testator ultimately had in view in making his bequest, in other ways than by means of prizes.

Every special fund shall be administered in conjunction with the main fund.

§ 6.

For each of the four sections in which a *Swedish* corporation is charged with adjudicating the prizes, that corporation shall appoint a Committee—their Nobel-Committee—of three or five members, to make suggestions with reference to the award. The preliminary investigation necessary for the awarding of prizes in the Peace-section shall be conducted by the Committee of the Norwegian Storting, as laid down in the Will.

To be qualified for election on a Nobel-Committee it is not essential either to be a Swedish subject or to be a member of the corporation that has to make the award. On the Norwegian Committee persons of other nationalities than Norwegian may have seats.

Members of a Nobel-Committee may receive reasonable compensation for the labour devolving upon them as such, the amount to be determined by the corporation that appoints them.

In special cases, where it shall be deemed necessary, the adjudicating corporation shall have the right of appointing a specialist to take part in the deliberations and decisions of a Nobel-Committee, in the capacity of a member of the same.

§ 7.

It is essential that every candidate for a prize under the terms of the Will be proposed as such in writing by some duly qualified person. A direct application for a prize will not be taken into consideration.

The qualification entitling a person to propose another for the receipt of a prize consists in being a representative, whether Swedish or otherwise, of the domain of Science, Literature, etc., in question, in accordance with the detailed

stipulations obtainable from the corporations charged with adjudicating the prizes.

At each annual adjudication those proposals shall be considered that have been handed in during the twelve months preceding the 1st day of February.

§ 8.

The grounds upon which the proposal of any candidate's name is made must be stated in writing and handed in along with such papers and other documents as may be therein referred to.

Should the proposal be written in a language other than those of the Scandinavian group, or than English, French, German or Latin, or should the adjudicators, in order to arrive at a decision upon the merits of a work proposed, be under the necessity of obtaining information as to the contents chiefly from a work written in a language, for the understanding of which there is no expedient save such as involves a great expenditure of trouble or money, it shall not be obligatory for the adjudicators to pay further consideration to the proposal.

§ 9.

On Founder's Day, the 10th of December, the anniversary of the death of the testator, the adjudicators shall make known the results of their award and shall hand over to the winners of prizes a cheque for the amount of the same, together with a diploma and a medal in gold bearing the testator's effigy and a suitable legend.

It shall be incumbent on a prize-winner, wherever feasible, to give a lecture on the subject treated of in the work to which the prize has been awarded; such lecture to take place within six months of the Founder's Day at which the prize was won, and to be given at Stockholm or, in the case of the Peace prize, at Christiania.

§ 10.

Against the decision of the adjudicators in making their award no protest can be lodged. If differences of opinion have occurred they shall not appear in the minutes of the proceedings, nor be in any other way made public.

§ 11.

As an assistance in the investigations necessary for making their award, and for the promotion in other ways of the aims of the Foundation, the adjudicators shall possess powers to establish scientific institutions and other organizations.

The institutions, &c., so established and belonging to the Foundation, shall be known under the name of Nobel-Institutes.

§ 12.

Each of the Nobel-Institutes shall be under the control of that adjudicating corporation that has established it.

As regards its external management and its finances a Nobel-Institute shall have an independent status Its property is not, however, on that account available for defraying the expenses of any establishments belonging to an adjudicating or any other corporation. Nor is it permissible for any scholar who is in receipt of a fixed salary as an official of a Swedish Nobel-Institute to occupy a similar position at any other institution at the same time, unless the King be pleased to permit it in a special case.

So far as the adjudicators of prizes deem it to be feasible, the Nobel-Institutes shall be established on one common site and shall be organised uniformly.

The adjudicating corporations are at liberty to appoint foreigners, either men or women, to posts at the Nobel-Institutes.

§ 13.

From that portion of the income derived from the main fund that it falls to the lot of each of the five Sections annually to distribute, one-fourth of the amount shall be deducted before the distribution is made. The immediate expenses connected with the award having been discharged, the remainder of the amount deducted as above directed shall be employed to meet the expenses of the Section in maintaining its Nobel-Institute. The money which is not absorbed in thus defraying the current expenditure for the year, shall form a reserve fund for the future needs of the Institute.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE FOUNDATION.

§ 14.

The Nobel Foundation shall be represented by a Board of Control, located in Stockholm. The Board shall consist of five members, one of whom, the President, shall be appointed by the King, and the others by the delegates of the adjudicating corporations. The Board shall elect from their own members a Managing Director.

For the member of the Board whom the King appoints one substitute shall be chosen, and for the other members two substitutes.

Those members of the Board who are elected by the delegates of the adjudicators, and also their substitutes, shall be appointed to hold office for two years, commencing from the 1st day of May.

§ 15.

The Board shall administer the funds of the Foundation as well as the other property, real and otherwise belonging to it, in so far as such is common to all the sections.

It shall be a function of the Board to hand over to the winners of prizes in accordance with the rules of the Foundation, the prizes so won, and besides, to attend to the payment of all duly authorised expenses connected with the prize-distribution, the Nobel-Institutes and similar objects. It shall further be incumbent on the Board to be of assistance, in matters that are not of a scientific character, to all those who have to do with the Foundation, where help be required.

The Board shall be empowered to engage the services of a lawyer to summon or prosecute a person or to defend a case on its behalf if need arise, and, in general, to act as the legal representative of the Foundation. The Board shall be entitled to engage the assistants who may be necessary for the proper discharge of its duties, and also to fix the terms, both as regards salary and pension, on which such assistants shall be remunerated.

§ 16.

The adjudicating corporations shall appoint fifteen delegates, for two civil years at a time; of these delegates the Academy of Science shall choose six and each of the other bodies three. To provide against inconvenience from the disability of a delegate to serve at any time, the Academy of Science shall appoint four substitutes, and each of the other bodies two.

The delegates shall elect one of their number to act as Chairman. That election shall be held at a meeting to which the oldest of the delegates chos en by the Academy of Science shall summon his fellow-delegates.

A minimum of nine delegates shall constitute a quorum. If any of the adjudicating corporations neglect to choose delegates, that shall not prevent the other delegates from arriving at a decision on the business before them.

Should a delegate reside at any place other than that where the meeting of delegates takes place, he shall be entitled to receive reasonable compensation for the expense to which he shall have been put in attending the meeting, such compensation to be paid from the general funds of the Foundation.

§ 17.

The administration and accounts of the Board shall be controlled once every civil year by five auditors, of whom each of the adjudicating corporations shall elect one and the King appoint the fifth; this last shall act as Chairman at their sittings.

Before the expiration of February every year a report concerning the administration of the Board shall be handed in to the Chairman of the Auditing Committee, which in its turn shall bring in its report before the first day of April to the delegates of the adjudicating corporations.

In the Auditors' Report, which must be published in the public newspapers, there shall appear a summary of the objects to which the proceeds of the several funds have been applied.

If any of the adjudicating corporations neglects to elect an auditor, or if any auditor fails to appear after having been summoned to a sitting of the Auditing Committee, the other auditors shall not be thereby prevented from pursuing their task of auditing.

§ 18.

The auditors shall at all times have access to all the books, accounts and other documents of the Foundation; nor shall any information they may demand concerning the management be withheld by the Board. All the deeds and securities belonging to the Foundation shall be examined and verified at least once a year by the auditors.

The Minister of Public Education and Worship, either in person or by appointed deputy, shall also have the right of access to all the documents belonging to the Foundation.

On the basis of the Auditors' Report the delegates of the adjudicators shall determine whether the Board shall be held absolved from their responsibility or not, and shall take those measures against the Board or any member of it for which call may arise. If no case be brought up within a year and a day of the date when the report of the Board was handed in to the auditors, the exoneration of the Board shall be held to have been granted.

§ 20.

The King shall determine the salary of the Managing Director, and also the amount of remuneration that shall be given to the other members of the Board and to the auditors.

Further instructions as to the management of the Foundation not contained in this Code shall be issued by the King in special bye-laws.

§ 21.

One-tenth part of the annual income derived from the main fund shall be added to the capital. To the same fund shall be also added the interest accruing from the sums set aside for prizes, while they remain undistributed or have not been carried over to the main or other (special) fund, as directed in § 5.

ALTERATIONS IN THE CODE.

§ 22.

A proposition to modify these statutes may be made by any of the adjudicating corporations, by their delegates, or by the Board. Upon any such proposition being brought forward by the adjudicators or by the Board, the delegates shall be required to express an opinion relative to it.

The adjudicators and the Board shall have to come to a decision on any proposal made, the Academy of Science having two votes and the other corporations one each. If there are not at least four votes in favour of a proposition, or if that corporation whose rights and authority the change proposed affects has not given its assent, the proposition shall be regarded as rejected. In the contrary case the proposition shall be submitted by the Board to the King for his consideration.

The omission on the part of any of those who are notified in due course of a proposed change, to send in any communication within four months of the receipt of the said notification, shall not prevent a decision being arrived at.

TEMPORARY REGULATIONS.

1. Directly the Code of Statutes of the Foundation shall have been ratified by the King, the adjudicators shall appoint the prescribed number of delegates to act until the close of the year 1901; they shall be summoned to meet together in Stockholm at the earliest date possible, for the purpose of electing the members of the Board of Control of the Foundation.

In determining the period of service of those members of the Board who are first appointed, the following points are to be observed: firstly, that to the time of service laid down by the statutes, which commences on 1st May 1901, the time between the date of the election and the day named must be added, and secondly, that two members of the Board shall be chosen by lot to go off again one year afterwards (on May 1).

2. The Board of Control of the Foundation shall assume the management of the property of the Foundation at the commencement of the year 1901; subject to the proviso, however, that the testator's executors shall be at liberty to continue, during the progress of the year, to take those measures which may still be necessary for the completion of the winding up of the estate, so far as they find needful.

3. The first distribution of prizes shall take place, if feasible, in 1901, and that in all five sections.

4. From the property possessed by the Foundation there shall be deducted:

(*a*) A sum of 300,000 kronor (about £16,556) for each of

the five sections, 1,500,000 kronor in all, to be used, along with the interest accruing therefrom after the first of January 1900, as need arises, for defraying the running expenses of organising the Nobel-Institutes, and

(*b*) The sum which the Board, after consultation with the delegates, may deem necessary for procuring a building of its own, to embrace offices for the transaction of business and a large hall for Founder's-day celebrations. The adjudicators shall be empowered to set aside the 300,000 kronor and interest thereon, mentioned above, or any portion of the same, on behalf of the special funds of the different sections.

To all which Each and Every One, whom it may concern, hath to pay dutiful and obedient heed. To the further certainty whereof WE have hereby attached OUR own signature and royal seal.

At the Palace in Stockholm, on this the 29th day of June 1900.

OSCAR.

(L. S.).

Nils Claëson.

SPECIAL REGULATIONS, CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION, ETC., OF PRIZES FROM THE NOBEL FOUNDATION *by the Royal Academy of Science in Stockholm. Given by His Gracious Majesty, Oscar II, King of Sweden and Norway, at the Palace in Stockholm, on the 29th day of June* 1900.

PRIZE DISTRIBUTION.

§ 1.

The right to hand in the name of a candidate for a prize, as directed in § 7 of the Code of Statutes of the Nobel-Foundation, shall belong to:

1. Home and foreign members of the Royal Academy of Science in Stockholm.

2. Members of the Nobel-Committees of the Physical and Chemical Sections as defined in the Code.

3. Scientists who have received a Nobel-prize from the Academy of Science.

4. Professors, whether in ordinary or associate, of the Physical and Chemical Sciences at the Universities of Upsala, Lund, Christiania, Copenhagen and Helsingfors, at the Caroline Medico-Chirurgical Institute and the Royal Technical College in Stockholm, and also those teachers of the same subjects who are on the permanent staff of the Stockholm University College.

5. Holders of similar chairs at other universities or university colleges, to the number of at least six, to be selected by the Academy of Science in the way most appropriate for the just representation of the various countries and their respective seats of learning.

6. Other Scientists whom the Academy of Science may see fit to select.

A determination as to the choice to be made of teachers and scientists, in accordance with sections 5 and 6 above, shall be arrived at before the close of each September.

§ 2.

For each of the Physical and Chemical Sections the Nobel-Committee, as prescribed in § 6 of the Code, shall consist of five members, four of them being chosen by the Academy and the fifth being the president of the corresponding section of the Nobel-Institute, as mentioned in § 14 below.

The election shall be for a space of four civil years. A member going off by rotation shall be eligible for re-election.

If a member retires or dies before his period expires, another person shall be elected to serve for the remainder of the period.

§ 3.

Previous to the election of a member of the Nobel-Committee, a list of proposed names shall be drawn up by the 4th Class in the Academy if the election be to the Committee in Physics, and by the 5th Class if the election be to the Committee in Chemistry. These lists shall be handed in to the Academy not later than the close of November.

If either of the above Classes of the Academy so desires, they shall be empowered to associate any competent member of another Class with themselves in the task of drawing up the lists aforesaid.

§ 4.

The Academy shall select one of the members chosen to sit on a Nobel-Committee to be the chairman of the same, for the space of one year at a time. In case of absence on the part of the chairman, his place shall be taken for the sitting by the oldest among the members present.

When the two committees meet in joint conference the chair shall be taken by the older of the two chairmen.

§ 5.

No decision shall be arrived at by a Nobel-Committee unless there be present a minimum of three out of the five members having seats on it, as directed in § 2 above.

Voting shall not be by ballot, but open. If the votes be equally divided, the chairman shall have a casting vote.

§ 6.

During the course of the month of September in each year the Nobel-Committees shall issue a circular to all those who are qualified, according to § 1 above, summoning them to make nominations of candidates for prizes before the first day of February in the following year; such nominations to be supported by evidence, documentary and otherwise.

§ 7.

Before the close of September every year the Nobel-Committees shall present to the Academy their opinion and proposals regarding the distribution of prizes

That Class in the Academy which is therein concerned shall then express its views with regard to the proposals, before the expiration of the month of October at the latest. Should the Class in question deem it necessary to call in the services of some qualified member of any other Class, to aid in drawing up their report, they shall have authority to do so.

The final decision, devolving upon the Academy, shall be arrived at within the lapse of the first half of November next ensuing.

§ 8.

The proceedings, verdicts and proposals of the Nobel-Committees with reference to the prize-distribution shall not be published or in any other way be made known.

§ 9.

The amount of the remuneration that in conformity with § 6 in the Code is to be allotted to a member of a Nobel-Committee, shall be determined by the Academy, after it has heard the joint-views of Classes 5 and 6.

The amount of remuneration to be accorded to any person who shall have been called in as an expert member of a Nobel-Committee, in pursuance of the stipulations of § 6 in the Code, shall be determined by the Academy, after it has heard the opinion of the Class which shall have called in such member.

§ 10.

To every member of the Academy who shall attend a meeting at which, in pursuance of § 7 (item 2 or 3), a Class in the Academy shall agree upon a final verdict or at which the Academy shall come to a decision in regard to the prize-award, a Nobel medal in gold shall be presented for each occasion.

§ 11.

All questions connected with the Nobel-Foundation shall be dealt with at special sittings of the Academy. The minutes

made at those sittings shall not be preserved with those of the other sittings of the Academy. All expenses entailed by these special sittings shall be defrayed from the funds of the Nobel-Foundation.

THE NOBEL-INSTITUTE.

§ 12.

The Nobel-Institute, which § 11 of the Code authorises the Academy of Science to establish, is to be so established primarily for the purpose of carrying out, where the respective Nobel-Committees shall deem requisite, scientific investigation as to the value of those discoveries in the domains of Physics and Chemistry, which shall have been proposed as meriting the award of a Nobel-prize to their authors.

The Institute shall, moreover, as far as its means allow, promote such researches in the domains of the sciences named, as promise to result in salient advantage.

§ 13.

The Nobel-Institute shall consist of two sections, one for Physical Research and one for Chemical Research.

The buildings required for these two sections shall be erected on contiguous sites, and rooms for the sittings of the Nobel-Committees as well as record-rooms, libraries, etc., shall be constructed for the two in common.

§ 14.

The Nobel-Institute shall be under the superintendence of an Inspector, appointed by the Crown.

As President of each of the two sections of the Nobel-Institute, the Academy of Science shall select, on the basis of recommendations from the Class in the Academy concerned, a scientist, either of Swedish or foreign extraction, who is possessed of an established reputation as an investigator and of a wide experience in, and grasp of, the branch of science which it is the function of the section to promote.

The Presidents shall have the title of Professor.

The terms of appointment for the Presidents shall be drawn up by the Academy on the basis of suggestions from the Class in the Academy concerned.

§ 15.

The President of a section shall devote the whole of his working-time to the concerns of that section. He shall exercise supervision over the officials and attendants in the service of the section, have charge of the buildings and collections belonging to it, and be held responsible in the last resort for the finances.

The President shall see to the carrying out of the work of investigation mentioned in § 12. In cases where such work falls within that department of research which the President has made his own, he shall be required to execute it himself.

The other regulations to which the President shall be subject shall be imparted to him in a special code of instructions drawn up by the Academy.

§

Whenever need shall arise for the calling in of a specialist to assist in the work of investigation, that Nobel-Committee which has the matter in hand, shall make application to the Academy for the purpose. The fee for such work shall be fixed in each case by the Academy on the basis of the Committee's own proposal, observance nevertheless being paid to the following paragraph—§ 17.

§ 17.

In cases where the Academy, by the terms of the Code, does not hold the sole right to determine the amount of the remuneration to be accorded to any member of the Academy, the decision authorising such payments to be made shall be submitted to the Crown for consideration and sanction.

§ 18.

A Joint-Secretary for the two sections of the Nobel-Institute shall be appointed by the Academy, the conditions of appointment to rest with that body. Names for the post shall be proposed by the two Nobel-Committees jointly. The Secretary shall be required, in addition to his other duties, to keep the minutes at the sittings of the Nobel-Committees. A Librarian shall also be appointed in the same manner. The position of Librarian may be combined with that of Secretary or Assistant to the Institute.

Assistants, makers of instruments, porters and other officials required for the work of the Institute, shall be engaged and dismissed by that Nobel-Committee which employs them.

§ 19.

Permission for other persons than those who are on the scientific staff of the Institute to carry on research in its laboratories etc., may be granted by the Nobel-Committee interested, yet only provided the researches are directed towards determining the scientific conditions upon which some discovery or some invention may be evolved.

SPECIAL FUNDS.

§ 20.

As soon as any Special Funds shall have been formed, in accordance with § 5 in the Code, the Academy shall be entitled to distribute, out of the annual yield thereof, support for the furtherance, in directions the testator had ultimately in view in making his bequest, of any work in the domains of Physical and Chemical Science that may be judged to be of significance either in a scientific or a practical regard.

Assistance of that kind shall by preference be accorded to such persons as shall have already attained, by their labours in the sciences named, to results that promise in their further development to prove worthy of the support of the Nobel-Foundation.

Proposals for the awarding of assistance of the nature above indicated shall be made by the respective Nobel-Committees and submitted to the Academy; it shall then rest with that body to consult the opinion of the Class concerned and thereafter to determine on the case.

The income derived from the special Funds may also be applied to the needs of the Nobel-Institute.

ALTERATION OF THE PRESENT STATUTES.

§ 21.

A proposition to alter the present statutes may be raised by any member of the Academy or of the Nobel-Committees. Before the Academy proceeds to deal with any proposition to that end, it shall first obtain an expression of opinion with regard to it from the two Nobel-Committees jointly, and subsequently from Classes 4 and 5 in the Academy jointly. Any proposed alteration that has been adopted by the Academy shall be submitted to the Crown for consideration and sanction.

TEMPORARY REGULATIONS.

On the occasion of the first election of members on the Nobel-Committees the Academy shall also appoint a *pro tem.* Secretary for these Committees.

Until such time as Presidents shall have been chosen or definitely appointed, there shall be a fifth member of each of the Nobel-Committees, chosen by the Academy. Those members shall retire on the appointment of Presidents.

In determining the period of service of the other four members of each Committee to be first appointed, the following points are to be noted: that to the period stipulated for them to act must be added the time that elapses between the day of their election and the 1st of January 1901; and further, that at the time of election lots shall be drawn to determine which

of the members shall go off by rotation, as stipulated, at the close of the years 1901, 1902 and 1903.

The Presidents of the sections of the Institute shall be appointed *pro tem.*, directly after the Academy has decided that measures shall be taken for the establishment of the Institute.

The definite appointment to the permanent posts of both President and Secretary shall not take place until the Institute shall have been equipped and be in working order.

Until the time when the Nobel-Institute shall be complete and have obtained its due organization, the Nobel-Committees shall resort to the opinions of experts in the several departments for such technical information as they may find themselves in need of for the purposes of the adjudicating of prizes, and they are empowered to have the experimental investigation and testing carried out at any institution, either home or foreign, that they may deem suitable. The fees to be paid in such cases shall be individually fixed by the Academy on the basis of a suggestion to be made by the Nobel-Committee concerned, with due observance, however, of the stipulations contained in § 17.

To all which Each and Every One, whom it may concern, hath to pay dutiful and obedient heed. To the further certainty whereof WE have hereby attached OUR own signature and royal seal.

At the Palace in Stockholm, on this the 29th day of June 1900.

OSCAR.

(L. S.)

Nils Claeson.

SPECIAL REGULATIONS, CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION ETC., OF PRIZES FROM NOBEL-FOUNDATION.

By the Caroline Medico-Chirurgical Institute in Stockholm, given by His Gracious Majesty, Oscar II. King of Sweden and Norway, at the Palace in Stockholm, on the 29th day of June 1900.

PRIZE DISTRIBUTION.

§ 1.

All questions connected with the prize-distribution shall be first dealt with by the Nobel-Committee for the Medical Section, constituted as prescribed in the Code, and shall be handed on by it to the Professorial Staff of the Caroline Institute for a final decision.

§ 2.

Three of the members of the Nobel-Committee shall be chosen by the professors at the Caroline Institute for a period of three civil years. Every year one of their number shall go off by rotation, a retiring member being, however, eligible for re-election.

The said Professors shall appoint one of the three members Chairman of the Committee, and another Vice-Chairman.

The other members shall be appointed at times, and in the manner, stated below in § 6.

§ 3.

The Nobel-Committee cannot transact business unless at least half the members are present.

If the votes are equally divided the Chairman shall exercise the casting vote.

§ 4.

Every year, during the month of September, the Nobel-Committee shall issue a circular to all those persons who are qualified, according to the stipulations given below, to make proposals of names for the receipt of prizes, requesting them to hand in such proposals before the expiration of the month of February next ensuing, together with the documentary evidence in support thereof.

§ 5.

The qualification requisite for the right to nominate candidates for the Nobel prize-competition shall be held to be possessed by:

1. Members of the Professorial Staff of the Caroline Institute.
2. Members of the Medical Class in the Royal Academy of Science.
3. Those persons who shall have received a Nobel-prize in the Medical section.
4. Members of the Medical Faculties at the Universities of Upsala, Lund, Christiania, Copenhagen and Helsingfors.
5. Members of at least six other Medical Faculties, to be selected by the Staff of the Caroline Institute in the way most appropriate for the just representation of the various countries and their respective seats of learning.
6. Scientists whom the said Staff may see fit to select.

A determination as to the choice to be made of teachers and scientists, in accordance with sections 5 and 6 above, shall be made within the first half of the month of September, the initial proposal to emanate from the Nobel-Committee.

§ 6.

The nominations to the prize-competition that shall have been handed in by persons duly qualified, as above detailed, during the course of each year counting from February 1 to February 1, shall be first dealt with by the Nobel-Committee, which shall arrange them and hand them on, with the comments upon them it may see fit to make, to the Professorial Staff of the Caroline Institute within the first half of February.

The said Staff shall thereupon, in the first half of March, appoint two additional members on the Nobel-Committee for the remaining portion of the civil year.

The said Staff shall, moreover, be empowered to appoint one or more experts to take part as members in the deliberations and decisions of the Nobel-Committee, whenever it shall consider such a procedure necessary in any particular case.

§ 7.

The Nobel-Committee shall determine which of the works of those nominated shall be subjected to a special investigation, and shall undertake the doing of the same, being hereby empowered to employ the assistance needed.

The Nobel-Committee having handed in its decision within the month of April the Staff of the Caroline Institute shall determine at its first sitting in the month of May, whether the works of any others of those nominated shall also be made the subject of special examination.

The work of a nominee shall be rejected if it be not decided to have it specially examined.

§ 8.

The Nobel-Committee shall hand in its verdict and proposals for the prize-award to the Staff of the Caroline Institute within the month of September.

§ 9.

The said Professorial Staff shall then fix a day in the month of October upon which to proceed to decide finally upon the prize-award.

§

Members of the Nobel-Committee not on the Professorial Staff shall be entitled to take part in the deliberations upon the awarding of the prize, though without the right of voting.

With the above exception, only the regular members of the Staff shall be permitted to take part in the deliberations and voting upon the prize-award.

The voting on the award shall be by ballot. Where necessary, lots shall be drawn.

Every member of the Staff who is present at the final decision, and the Secretary and the Members of the Nobel-Committee, shall receive a gold medal specially struck for the occasion.

§ 11.

The Nobel-Committee is entitled to make requisition from the Board of Administration of the Caroline Institute for the assignment of means to defray its expenses. If the Board approves the requisition so made, it is entitled to debit the Nobel-Foundation with the amount. Should the Board not sanction the requisition, or should it desire from other reasons so to do, it may refer the matter to the decision of the Professorial Staff of the Caroline Institute.

The assignment of sums to meet the other items of expenditure arising out of the prize-distribution shall be decided upon by the Staff of the Caroline Institute, after consultation with the Board of Administration of the Institute.

In cases where the Staff, by the terms of the Code, does not possess the sole right to remunerate one of its own members, its decision that such payment be made shall be submitted to the Crown for consideration and sanction.

The printed documents, which have been handed in with the nominations for the prize-competition or have been purchased for the assistance of the adjudicators, shall be preserved in the library of the Caroline Institute, without, however, any responsibility for the same devolving upon the public treasury.

Scientific instruments and other auxiliaries of like nature, procured to facilitate the labour of investigation as a necessary preliminary to the adjudication of prizes, shall be the property of the Nobel-Foundation. They shall be kept in such departments of the Caroline Institute as the Staff thereof shall appoint, without, however, any responsibility for them devolving upon the public treasury; they shall, moreover, be used there until such time when they can be removed to a permanent home in the Medical Nobel-Institute that is to be established. An inventory of the above-mentioned belongings of the Nobel-Foundation shall be drawn up once every year and presented to the Board of Control, which shall have them under its charge.

THE MEDICAL NOBEL-INSTITUTE.

§ 12.

The Medical Nobel-Institute, which shall be under the superintendence of the Chancellor of the Universities of the

country, shall be established and organised by decree of the Staff of the Caroline Institute, when the said Staff shall deem that the necessary means for the purpose are available.

A proposition for the establishing of this Institute may be made by a member of either the Staff of the Nobel-Committee. The Nobel-Committee shall first deal with a proposition to that end, preparatory to its being submitted to the Professorial Staff of the Caroline Institute for approval.

Until this Nobel-Institute shall have entered upon its duties all particulars connected with its functions shall be submitted to the Crown for consideration and sanction.

THE SPECIAL FUND OF THE MEDICAL PRIZE-SECTION.

The proceeds of this fund shall be devoted to promoting research in medical science, in other ways than by prize-distribution, and to rendering the results of that research of practical use to mankind in directions in accord with what the testator ultimately had in view in making his bequest.

The revenue accruing from the fund shall not be appropriated for paying the salary of any official engaged at the Caroline Institute.

§ 14.

A proposition for the disposal of the proceeds of the fund may be made by a member either of the Staff of the Caroline Institute or of the Nobel-Committee.

The Staff shall debate and decide any such proposition after the Board of Administration of the Institute has expressed an opinion upon it.

§ 15.

If the amount derived from the fund in any one year be not disposed of, the Staff aforesaid shall determine whether it shall be added to the capital sum of the fund or reserved for use in following years.

TEMPORARY REGULATIONS.

In determining the period of service of those three members of the Nobel-Committee who shall be first appointed by the Staff, the following points shall be observed: to the time stipulated for service is to be added the time elapsing between the date of election and the 1st of January 1901; and further, in conjunction with the election, lots are to be drawn to determine which of the three members shall go off by rotation, as stipulated, at the end of 1901, and which at the end of 1902.

To all which Each and Every One, whom it may concern, hath to pay dutiful and obedient heed. To the further certainty whereof WE have hereby attached OUR signature and royal seal.

At the Palace in Stockholm, on this the 29th day of June 1900.

OSCAR.

(L. S.)

Nils Claëson.

Special Regulations Concerning the Distribution, etc., of Prizes from the Nobel Foundation.

By the Swedish Academy in Stockholm given by His Gracious Majesty Oscar II, King of Sweden and Norway, at the Palace in Stockholm, on the 29th day of June 1900.

§ 1.

The right to nominate a candidate for the prize-competition shall belong to: Members of the Swedish Academy and of the Academies in France and Spain, which are similar to it in constitution and purpose; members also of the humanistic classes of other academies and of those humanistic institutions and societies that are on the same footing as academies; and teachers of æsthetics, literature and history at university colleges.

The above regulation shall be publicly announced at least once every five years in some official or widely circulated journal in each of the three Scandinavian countries and in the chief countries of the civilised world.

§ 2.

The Academy shall appoint at its Nobel-Institute, which shall embrace a large library chiefly of works in modern literature, not only a head-librarian and one or more sub-librarians, but also, as far as needed, other officers and assistants of literary training, either with temporary or permanent posts, to discharge the work of preparing questions arising out of the prize-competition prior to their treatment by the Academy, to draw up reports concerning literary works of recent publication in foreign countries and to translate from foreign languages when such work is required.

The Nobel-Institute of the Swedish Academy shall be under the superintendence of an Inspector appointed by the Crown, and under the immediate management of a member of the Academy, to be chosen by that body.

§ 3.

The Academy shall be empowered to employ the proceeds

of the special fund in furthering, in such directions as the testator ultimately had in view in making his bequest, any work in the field of literature, whether carried on in Sweden or abroad, that may be considered to possess importance more especially in those departments of culture which it is the function of the Academy to tend and foster.

§ 4.

If those members of the Academy who do not live in Stockholm are prevented from personally taking part in the election of delegates, which the Code enjoins upon the Academy, they are entitled to vote by sending in voting-papers.

The members of the Academy who are non-resident in Stockholm are entitled to compensation for travelling expenses, to a value which the Academy shall determine, if they desire to be present at any meeting of the Academy where any question is on the agenda that relates to the prize-distribution, to the reserving of money or to the allotting of reserve sums to a special fund.

§ 5.

In cases where other forms of compensation than those for travelling or for attendance, as provided in § 4 above and in § 16 of the Code, be voted to a member of the Academy, that body itself not being authorised by the Code to dispense such payment, the vote shall be submitted to the Crown for consideration and sanction.

To all which Each and Every One, whom it may concern, hath to pay dutiful and obedient heed To be further certainty whereof WE have hereby attached OUR own signature and royal seal.

At the Palace in Stockholm, on this the 29th day of June 1900.

OSCAR.
(L. S.)

Nils Claëson.

NOTE.

The Royal Academy of Science (Kungl. Vetenskaps-Akademien) in Stockholm was founded in 1739. The statutes of its constitution at present in force date from the year 1850 (July 13). The functions of the Academy are to encourage the pursuit and the development of the sciences and also to spread a knowledge of them by the circulation of printed scientific papers and monographs.

The Academy, of which the King is the patron, numbers 100 Swedish and Norwegian members and 75 foreign ones,

The home members are ranged in 9 Classes, to wit: 1. Pure Mathematics; 2. Applied Mathematics; 3. Practical Mechanics; 4. Physical Sciences; 5. Chemistry, Geology and Mineralogy; 6. Botany and Zoology; 7. Medical Sciences; 8. Technology, Economics and Statistics; 9. General Science and Scientific Pursuits.

The Academy elects its President annually, but has several permanent officials, among whom the chief is the Secretary, who has the details of the management under his care.

The Caroline Medical Chirurgical Institute (Kungl. Karolinska Institutet) in Stockholm dates from 1815. The statutes now in force received the King's sanction on April 29th, 1886. It corresponds to a University Medical Faculty and has the same standing as the Medical Faculties at Upsala and Lund. Theoretical and practical instruction in the Medical Sciences is imparted, and students are able to graduate at the Institute.

The head of the Institute is the Rector, chosen from among their own number by the staff of professors for a term of three years; the management and control of the Institute is vested in him. The professorial staff numbers at present 22.

The Swedish Academy (Svenska Akademien) in Stockholm, founded by King Gustavus III on the 20th of March, 1786, when it received the statutes of constitution still in force, devotes itself to the arts of elocution and poetry, its mission being to labour in the interests of the preservation of purity, force and elevation of diction in the Swedish language both in scientific works and, more especially, in those products of pure literature that are embraced under the terms poetry and elocution in all their scope, not excluding those works that have the inculcation of religion for their purpose. It is part of the task of the Academy to prepare for publication a dictionary of the Swedish language and likewise a grammar, besides issuing papers and treatises calculated to establish and cultivate good taste. The Academy awards annual prizes to the winners of competitions in elocution and poetry. The membership of the Academy is fixed at 18, all being Swedes; the King is its patron. The officials consist of a President, a Chancellor, and a Permanent Secretary, all chosen from among the members.*

* It will be seen from the preceding Statutes that intending competitors must be nominated only by approved (and for Foreign parts, unspecified) Universities, Faculties, etc., and before the 1st February of each year. As a whole the Statutes appear perfectly fair and necessary, but abuses are liable to creep in from certain Sections, while others are partial to Scandinavians, and others again betray a very nearly a sort of ludicrous compromise—for instance, it is possible for us as Editor of the *Calcutta Review* to nominate ourselves in some of the Prizes!—ED., ?.

THE QUARTER.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN "WAR."—Things are getting here just as bad as we anticipated three months ago,—some may say getting worse,—and very much more rapidly. And as matters related are also, as we shall see in our Home notes, getting worse in England,—eminent Generals to whom the nation owes as much as or more than, to any one else in this very war, getting "dismissed," or rather, unable to stand the set of the flood of distracted counsels; Ministers being howled at by their own party; and Chamberlain, as usual, adding fuel to the fire by his hasty, ill-considered, and criminal speeches;—in short, the old adage of whom the gods wishing to destroy making mad first;—there is evidently a crisis approaching which might or might not startle us accordingly as we have correctly interpreted, or not, the trend of events hitherto. We may, however, proceed in due order. We referred in our last to the Proclamation issued by the Chamberlain—for we can hardly call it the Salisbury—though we might call it the "Hotel Cecil"—Government to come into effect after 15th September—a Proclamation that went against the very principle of belligerency that we had ourselves accorded to the Dutch Republics in South Africa, as well as against the Hague Convention—what do "men-in-the-street," Chamberlain's *confreres* know about belligerent principles or the Hague Convention?—and than which Proclamation there was nothing better calculated to defeat its own ends. Articles VII and XX of the Hague Convention prohibit belligerents from confiscating private property, and while Kruger pointed this out in Europe, in South Africa the Boer Governments and leaders treated the Proclamation as waste paper. And as regards the other pains and penalties comprised in fighting for their independence, Botha in the North proposes to hold 150 British prisoners as hostages against the execution of Lord Kitchener's—for he has been made to bear the brunt of it—Proclamation, and the numerous Commandos in Cape Colony have orders to shoot Colonials in arms after the 15th September. But while the whole of Cape Colony may be said to be in a flame, as we shall see further below, and the wise and humane King of England is feeling dreadfully concerned that the "war" should be brought to a happy and rapid close, and Lord Kitchener writes to Acting-President Schalk-Burger, "It is my fervent prayer that Almighty God

may so guide Your Honor that peace and friendship on a firm and lasting basis, which Your Honor states you so earnestly desire, may result throughout the land," and even Sir West Ridgway in Ceylon publicly speaking can say "this wretched war, the prolongation of which, if not a crime, is a grievous error of judgment, is over—please God soon may it be," the instigator and perpetrator of all the mischief, Mr. Chamberlain, in a speech at Edinburgh adds to the flames by saying "that the time was coming when more severe measures might be adopted," and according to his wont, even travelled aside to fling dirt on other friendly, and even it may be allied nations in Europe by saying further that "the nations which were now criticising our 'barbarity' furnished precedents in Poland, the Caucasus, Touquin and in the Franco-German War which we had never even approached!" Mr. Chamberlain is as unconcerned in treating the European Governments as in dealing with the Irish deputies in the House —which shows his ignorance, want of a sense of proportion, and "malignant vanity" as Mr. Buckland would call it. Indeed, it is a wonder how men like Lord Lansdowne and others of the party, who are presumably mentally whole and sound, can continue to work with a man of the grade and mental stamp of Chamberlain, and who certainly betrays such shortcomings in his official equipment. In any case, it is now clearly seen that while the last election was rushed through by Mr. Chamberlain, and while nothing has been done to carry out the promises then made to the country, it is Mr. Chamberlain, and he alone that is prolonging this "War" and even making reconciliation or peace impossible. Nay, as will also be seen in another place, he is *riding for a fall*—perhaps the light is beginning to dawn on him that he, and his submissive following had better "go!" It is now difficult to procure recruits even, and the Colonial Contingents, too, are thinking they have had enough. (As will also be seen elsewhere, Chamberlain is coming to grief with the Australian Commonwealth.) His "echo" in South Africa, Lord Milner during a late visit to Natal—the very existence of which is threatened by the Boers—"enjoined the *great* virtue of patience;"—we may almost suppose he used the word "great" sarcastically, with one of his usual quiet smiles. Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking lately, observed that "it was no exaggeration to say that the situation in South Africa was very little better, and in some respects worse, than two years ago. He did not regard the issue of the Proclamation as a wise or a brilliant movement. [It was a confession of defeat!] The people who asked Government to employ an iron hand and declare the Boers outlaws were very short-sighted." And all

the papers, especially the ministerialist papers, contain scathing criticisms on the Government's mismanagement of the war. The *Standard* says that it should be plain to the Government that there is a growing public anxiety amounting almost to irritation over the present condition of affairs.

Lord Kitchener, too, finding his hands tied, is said to have threatened resignation. He cannot get good recruits, and all he has done so far, has only resulted in Natal being invaded, and the Cape Colony occupied by the enemy, and martial law proclaimed throughout even in Cape Town! There is little doubt that the whole of the Western half of the Colony is now disaffected, Mr. Chamberlain's "Statesmanship" having brought it about. The Boers assert that they have been joined by some 15,000 men from the Colony, and that they are now enabled to elaborate the plan of annexing the Cape and Natal, and are also certain of a general rising of the Dutch. In the "War of Independence" in North America the French helped the Colonies, and England was busily engaged elsewhere; besides that the population of the "rebels" numbered two millions; still, we lost them through bad statesmanship. And now in this South African Boer War of Independence, though the "rebels" (!) have had no command of the sea-board, and have numbered altogether barely fifty thousand, and no nation has as yet come forward either openly or secretly to help them, and we have had our hands free to deal with them alone, and send ten "soldiers" to their one "farmer,"—an army ten times the number we had operating in America,—under our best Generals, ever sending "fresh" troops, if we are to lose South Africa, it will also be owing to the utter absence of any statesmanship on the part of the Ministry at home, or rather, the low, malignant feelings of Chamberlain—a "man-of-the-street"—who has been allowed to become the "Dictator" (see our Article sent from "Westminster)", and Destroyer of England's traditional power, fair fame, and glory. That the "War" has been still more disastrous to us during the last three months is seen not less in the severe losses we have suffered in the Magaliesberg district—in one action with only 1,000 Boers General Kekewich had 55 killed (2 of them officers) and 138 wounded (among whom were 14 officers)—or in the defence of Fort Itala, where we had 6 officers among the "casualties," and 49 men, as also 63 "missing" of whom "many are known to be killed and wounded" (the Boers losing only 19 in all!); or Major Gough's disaster at Utrecht where our guns were captured, 7 officers being among the killed and wounded, also 39 men, besides 5 officers and 150 men made prisoners (the Boer force here too numbered only 1,000 men); or the determined Boer

attack for two days on Fort Prospect; or the usual tale of trains derailed, convoys captured, and the successful sallyings forth of beleaguered Boer forces, such, for instance, as the sally made by Commandant Smutz, killing 3 of our officers and 20 men, and wounding one officer and 30 men—not less in these disasters, than in the invasion of Natal, and the progress made by the Boer Commandos in Cape Colony, parties of whom have reached Saldanha Bay in the South and are also within 40 miles of Cape Town, near Piquetberg. Martial Law has consequently been proclaimed all over the Colony, including Cape Town—a law providing for the censoring of letters and telegrams, and even molesting ingress and egress into the Colony! As we have said, the feeling at home (not as represented by Chamberlain's and Brodrick's glozing accounts), joined with the *amentia* exhibited by the Ministry, and with these progressive and increasing disasters—which we have focussed to judge of their true bearings—betoken a crisis at hand, the nature of which we cannot predict, though it may spell a final crash, or an honorable peace such as Lord Kitchener speaks of in his letter to Schalk-burgher quoted above. According to a return that has been published, we have lost nearly 800 officers in South Africa and 2,270 sent home (many of them to die) as invalids, and more than 16,000 men in South Africa, with some 52,000 men sent home as invalids! It is indeed an irony of fate that the Chamberlains, Brodricks, and others, who keep on inflaming public sentiment at home, are not sent or do not themselves go, to the front fighting line. We may conclude this portion of our notes by referring to General Beatson calling the Australians under him "white livered curs;" three of them being sentenced for life; the Australian Colonies taking it up warmly; and finally, the Royal Pardon being extended to the three. Besides this, Chamberlain himself is in trouble with Australia, and he will find the Australians worse subjects to deal with than the Boers—and indeed, it involves the ruin of all the hopes he had built on regarding his shallow and trumpery "Colonial policy." He has never been in one of the Colonies, and does not know "his masters" as he is finding, and will still more find, to his cost.

As we are closing this account a further, and the severest disaster to our arms is reported by Lord Kitchener on November 1st as occurring to the Eastward of Johannesburg. Two Colonels, Benson and Guinness, were killed, eight other officers also killed and thirteen wounded, nearly all severely, and 58 men killed and 256 wounded.

The Boers here, too, were only 1,000 strong.

We may also add the following as among the latest telegrams regarding public feeling at home:—

> The ex Liberal Solicitor-General for Scotland, Mr. Shaw, addressing his constituents at Glashiels, on Monday, made a strong pro-Boer speech, and urged the appointment of a Commission, as was done in the case of Canada. A vote of confidence in Mr. Shaw was enthusiastically carried.
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> Mr Edmund Robertson, M.P., speaking at Dundee on Tuesday, said that if the Empire was to be saved the present Government must be destroyed.
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> Lord Aberdeen addressing a meeting at Dundee yesterday, said that the country had erected a false and tyrannical patriotism, to throw doubt on the wisdom or justice of the present Government was to brand themselves as traitors. We were squandering our sons and our money on the veldt of South Africa, and allowing the Americans to buy up our commercial interests both in this country and Canada.

CHINA.—At one time it was thought that a new Capital, more difficult of access to foreign armies, would be fixed on, but the latest news has it that the Court will return to Pekin—which has more than once been a most unfortunate capital for the Chinese. Li Hung Chang is supposed to be *in articulos mortis*—but perhaps it is merely a feint of the wily old politician. He and the Russians are pulling well together, and Russia promises to restore Manchuria, which is politic and all right for the present. The Legation Guards have been directed to keep themselves in their own quarter and not to roam about the city. Prince Ching has also requested the Ministers at Pekin the withdrawal of foreign business establishments from Pekin on the ground that it is not a Treaty port. Pekin is a great city, and the most concise and picturesque description we have seen of it is supplied by one of our native returned soldiers:—"Calcutta would fit into one corner of Pekin. Surrounded by a wall it is a perfect fort in itself. It is twenty-seven miles in circumference and has seventeen gates. It contains three forts, one of which is fifteen miles in circumference, the other three miles, and the third is considerably larger than the other two. The walls of the main fort are about forty-two feet wide at the top and slope outwards for a descent of nearly fifty-two feet to the bottom, where they are fifty-six feet thick. There is room enough on top to allow twelve horses to walk abreast. In the centre of these forts is the city itself with the British Legation occupying a prominent position in the middle of it.' But it has been very much destroyed. The Special Correspondent of the *Times* writes:—"All over the city, East and West, South and North, one comes at intervals across black patches of ruins." The looting and the pillage of the city,—the Huns and Vandals could not have been worse or more cruel, and we and America and France boast of being "civilised" and having

Christian (!!!) missions all over the world,—both private and official, are now, though denied before, established facts. The *Times'* Correspondent above referred to writes :—"For some days at least after the occupation it was given over to wholesale pillage, unrestrained and alas! to other forms of licence worse than pillage. There was official looting by superior orders, like that of the Japanese, who having the advantage of greater topographical knowledge, made straight for the Treasury, the Imperial granaries, etc., and promptly emptied them ; there was indiscriminate looting by soldiers and civilians, of every nationality, and by women of gentle birth as well as by men ; there was looting for the fun of the thing and looting with a strict eye to business ; there was retaliatory looting by Native Christians, there was even looting by Missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant, for charitable purposes! The fever was universal. It would have been well for the reputation of the Western world had reprisals been confined to looting only. But even for the worst things that were done in those fierce days much may be pleaded in extenuation that cannot be pleaded in connection with the conduct of the contingents that arrived after the heat of battle had died away, or with the petty acts of vandalism which are still being perpetrated to the present day. The Germans, for instance, did not appear on the scene until all the fighting was over, yet both in Pekin and in the surrounding country their hand as in the long run proved systematically heavier upon the natives than perhaps that of any other nationality ; and amongst the many acts of official freebooting, from which I believe only the British and Americans have held entirely aloof, none seems more utterly wanton and inexcusable than the removal of the splendid astronomical instruments—including perhaps the finest specimens of Chinese bronze work in the world—from the far-famed Observatory on the eastern wall, which the Germans and the French have agreed to divide among themselves for the museums of Paris and Berlin on the incongruous grounds that some of them—and by no means the most valuable—were presented to the Son of Heaven two centuries ago by Louis XIV and that the Observatory happened now to be within the German lines of occupation." And with regard to our own troops, the same Correspondent, while contradicting the *Daily News'* comment on the native regiments of India, writes again of them, that "they looted no less and no more than the troops of other European nationalities during the brief period when Tientsin and Pekin *were given over to plunder with the consent of the military authorities of all nationalities.*" That ought to make one blush for ourselves, if not for our common humanity, but, unfortunately, the hands of the dial of progress, humanity and enlighten-

ment have been going back considerably of late years in many other parts of the world. And at the present time there are—besides a variety of every other form of grave evil—wars, fightings, and troubles 'from China to Peru" (*literally*). The same native soldier quoted above for a description of Pekin, says of the French and Russian forces that were engaged:—"The French soldiers do not look up to much, and in addition to their crafty disposition and their love for quarrelling they are down right bad. Their discipline also is inferior to that of the other foreign troops. The Russians are pure savages, very cruel and quarrelsome, and they did by far the most looting. They were generally badly behaved, and their officers did not seem to have very much control over them."

The "consummation" will proceed even just according as it is laid down in Holy Writ. We before wrote of the Third Act of the Drama begun in China being yet to come, and that probably at a most inconvenient time for Europe to again interfere. This Third Act is thus sketched out—it has also been sketched out by Sir Robert Hart—by an old resident:—'A revolt will take place in winter, perhaps next winter, when the northern ports are ice-bound, and it will arise in Pechili. Isolated bodies of Europeans and Christians will be massacred. Then the various towns and positions where troops are, will be besieged. The total garrison in Pechili next winter will be 7,000, of whom 2,000 will guard the Legations. The remainder will be posted at Shanghai, Kwan, Tientsin, and elsewhere on the railway. It is not believed that these Garrisons will be captured, for they occupy strongly fortified positions, and are amply provisioned, but they will be surrounded by hordes of Chinese, and they will not be able to stir outside their defences. Relief must be sent to them by the Powers. Relieving armies will have to fight their way through the country, where every ditch will hide not a boxer but a rifleman. Having rescued the besieged Garrisons the armies will return to the coast of China, and will fall back into a civilisation, which prevailed before the Europeans came upon the scene. Large numbers of Europeans, particularly traders and merchants, are leaving the country. Pekin is already almost deserted by this class. I may add, says the resident," "that many diplomatists are sorry that they cannot get away too."

RUSSIA, FRANCE, ETC.—Since we last wrote, the expected visit of the Czar to France has come off, and on the way he also took Germany. The *Times'* Paris Correspondent's opinion was that the Czar came only to prepare the way for a further loan. The loan may have been one of the minor objects of the visit. But the real object was to arrange that both Russia and France should move together in the matter of the final disposal of

Turkey and the Balkan question, even though Germany should be against them. This has been done and Turkey is doomed. At the same time, even as we advised in our last, Germany's hand was to be forced, and also a chance given to Germany if she would take it. Both these, too, have been done—a pretence, and the occasion was soon supplied by Turkey herself, was got up by France to coerce Turkey, and Germany, having been warned and advised by the Czar, declined to even mediate when asked by the Sultan. Thereupon things proceeded a step further, and Turkey was given to understand that Crete would be annexed to Greece, and that "The Powers" were agreed on it. Still further, the Russian ambassador at the Porte had an audience of the Sultan and "insisted" on the punishment of the Kurd assassins of Armenians at Mush, and "The Powers" are now discussing eventual action for the purpose of obliging the Sultan to execute the Treaty of Berlin "regarding Macedonia and Armenia" and the execution of "reforms." It is stated that "all the Powers" will acquiesce. Of course, Germany, with her astute Emperor, could see that she was not ready to fight single-handed both Russia and France, with perhaps Austria added, and wisely gave in and was "secured" even before this final proposal to do away with the evil influence of the Turk. England, of course, will have no objection (with her hands tied in South Africa), provided she has the reversion of Egypt, and Jerusalem, and this last she may perhaps be allowed to hold in trust for all Christendom,—Greek, Latin, and Protestant Churches equally. Austria is only too glad that things will shape themselves without her immediate destruction. This,—and the "blow" is yet to come off,—it is which brought back all the European armies, as also Count Waldersee, in such sudden haste from China, leaving things to take their course there. And it is just possible that it is this enormous political complication which has struck our Ministry at home with utter imbecility—the Boer "War" being still on hand! In the midst of all this—especially with the Amir of Cabul dead—it is very satisfactory to find that England is moving along with Russia (and therefore also France), even though the German journals at first tried to sow in us distrust of that power. And our contributor C—n was right in our last to say "the dawn was rising in the East" for Armenia. And probably other things are meant in "The Archangel's Trump proclaims Him near." We ourselves believe that, along with the march of science and discovery, there are other very remarkable things in the great Drama of the Globe, which proclaim the advent of the Sole, Rightful, and One Great King of All the Earth, the Anointed One of God, to be not very far off, and that some of us may even live to see it.

To finish off Russia; that unfortunate, and we may say insane, man, Count Leo Tolstoi, has publicly denounced the Franco-Russian Alliance. As we expressed ourselves once before, it is a wonder this mentally deluded man is p to stay in Russia. He may conveniently be sent to Kamtschatka to proclaim his self-evolved fancies to the Buddhists (if any) there; or better, made a present of to the Arya-Vedic party in India, or Mrs. Besant's Hindu College at Benares as a *Yogi* Professor! In any case, he should be sent out of Russia, or imprisoned and punished. Nominally a follower of Christ (!) he is far worse than a "Mad" Mullah at large in Allahabad or Delhi.

In regard to France, the visit of the Czar, with the Grand Review and subsequent speeches of friendship and alliance take the first place. The Budget shows a deficit of 50 million francs, owing to the great fall in the prices of the Cheap Wines and the Sugar Bounties. Of the 16,468 religious communities in France 8,800 have applied for authorisation under the new law. How can any nation be strong and progress with so many thousand "Communities" honeycombing it? Unfortunately most of those who have left have come to England—and no wonder the dead set made at the Crown—the Coronation Oath—by the Romanist body in England (and as we shall see also in the Colonies), and the Pope saying, Protestant nations were better than "Catholic" ones. The fact is there is not one so-called "Catholic" nation, both France and Spain being honeycombed with infidelity, the result of the numerous religious Orders and Associations, and the armies of "priests." The French Government also propose to call an International Conference with the object of discussing the best means of coping with the white slave traffic, whatever that may mean, but which is a very large subject, and impossible to be dealt with by civil governments, unless the immoral traffic of a peculiar class is referred to. All relations with Turkey have been broken off, Ambassadors withdrawn and expelled—as also the Police Agents in Paris who watched the Young Turkish party there. A French Fleet has also sailed for the Levant and the Khedive, however, paid a visit to President Loubet?. In German matters, the Kaiser having received Prince Chun grandiosely, after relaxed so far as to "hob-nob" and fraternise with him. Prince Chun accordingly departed highly pleased. And as the Czar managed to show the Kaiser his true interests in the Turkish matter, he—the latter—feeling easy, has fallen into an acute squabble in regard to Art with the Berlin City Council, and it is doubtful who will win. The Russian Press, previously tutored of course, told only the truth when, seeking to dissipate French

mistrust of the Dantzig interview, declared that it was to afford an opportunity of removing various causes and conflicts threatening European tranquility. Finally, the Polish Jews of Prussia are "causing considerable anxiety in Berlin."

We noticed in our last that Turkey was trying to get all the Mahommedan powers into line, by various expedients. His headship of the Faith, of course, is denied by Persia and the Sheeahs in India, as well as the Senoussis of Africa, and rests on very shadowy and insecure grounds even when examined by Soonnees; but for all that, he has a large and very ignorant and very fanatical following. We find that his agents are moving even in Netherlands India (but the Dutch there will stand little nonsense), and the *Ceylon Standard* writes:—"Our correspondent informed us that all local followers of the Prophet were expecting to receive information from the Sultan that they must rise in defence of their religion. When this information was received the local Mahommedans would rise as one man, or run amok as one man, kill all those who held other beliefs, and if they were killed it would not matter, as they would go straight into Paradise, and enjoy for evermore in the highest degree, those sensual delights the Mahommedan Paradise contains for all who have fallen in the defence of the faith." On which the Editor says, "even the most fanatical of the Muslims must know what would be the result of such a movement. The Sultan is as wily as a fox, and if driven to the wall, may cry for a *jehad*. If the answer is in the affirmative, it will earn a terrible retribution." Meantime we have to await developments, and the Mussulmans and Christians are cutting each other's throats at Beirut, a Turkish Admiral has fled to Malta, and a Mrs. Stone has been captured by brigands.

Spain is in serious Anarchist troubles, and a Weyler Dictatorship is talked of. Japan wants a loan from America. There has been a plot at Teheran against the Shah, discovered in time. Koweit was attempted to be "bagged" by Turkey (for Germany) but the attempt was frustrated by British gunboats. The late Amir of Cabul is dead, and Russia declares she will not intervene causelessly. It is stated there is an "agreement" between England and Russia removing all fear of complications. The "Mad" Mullah of Somaliland holds his ground with 10,000 followers. Venezuela and Colombia are at war with each other in South America.

ENGLAND, THE COLONIES, &C.—We now come to our own blessed-of-God but unhappy and bleeding country—bleeding from the wounds inflicted on her by the counsels of "the-man-in-the-street," and not only bleeding, but disgraced and dishonored, the Lion with his paws in mice-traps, and with such a pneumonia in his lungs that he cannot even roar effectually!

We really cannot say where we should be now but for our Fleet. The Councils of the nation are effete, the ruling party divided one against another, make-bates and breed-mischiefs—half-witted men—still abroad, the imports and exports, dwindling down, want staring thousands of operatives, the Colonies disgusted and angry, and the other nations of the world going on their way without heed of us. Worst of all, there is not one leader of the nation at home to hark and call it back to itself. It must be done, and we believe will be done, or things somehow or other will come right. Let us, however, proceed in due order.

King Edward, after paying a visit to Copenhagen, and seeing the Czar there, has returned to England, and shown himself, naturally, rather anxious about the War. The Parliament not sitting, Ministers (*i.e.*, Chamberlain virtually) are having their own way. It is announced that the King will open Parliament in State somewhere about the end of January. If he called it together now, it might be of some purpose.

The Duke of Cornwall has returned from his trip. The most elaborate preparations are being made for the grand Ceremonial of the Coronation. It is expected that Lord Salisbury will retire after that event, and with him Lord Roberts, and we trust the Duke of Connaught will succeed the latter. With reference to future changes, the *Indian Daily News* announces from Home that "Lord Salisbury will presently retire from the office of Premier. He will be succeeded by Mr. Arthur Balfour, who, as Lord Whittinghame, will endeavour to lead the Party, Mr. Chamberlain remaining in the House of Commons as Leader of that establishment and as Colonial Secretary. Those who argue that Mr. Chamberlain will not serve under Mr. Balfour had better turn to Mr. Chamberlain's latest speech, in which he fully and purposely dealt with the subject." Mr. Chamberlain will do anything to stay in.

We referred in our last to a letter we had received from Mr. T. M. Maclean, late Member for Cardiff, and the hated of Chamberlain. How far the latter has any convictions whatever, save and in so far as his own interests are concerned, may be seen from the letter which we now furnish:—"Chamberlain hates me for the same reason that Haman hated Mordecai, but I shall live to see him hanged yet. He did me the honour last year to send me word that I made a great mistake in supposing he was my enemy, and that he would gladly do anything to advance my interests; but I should despise myself if I accepted favours from such a man. The tide has now turned, and you will see that its force will soon become

irresistible." That it *has* turned may be seen from the following:—Mr. Gibson Bowles, M. P., writes to the *Times* saying, that "Government having prevented Lord Kitchener making peace, have as completely failed to provide him with the means of making war, and there is practically no Cabinet." Mr. Edward Norris, a prominent Ministerialist, writes:—"In London to-day I have brushed elbows with all sorts and conditions of men, and I belong to four Conservative Clubs, and the present weakness of the Government is the prevailing topic of conversation." The Press echoes the public voice, for while the *Saturday Review* doubts whether either the statesmen or soldiers at the War Office estimate, as they should, the growing bitterness, and contempt felt towards them by all sections of the community on account of their childish optimism, the *Statist* urges the City to take the lead in expressing the popular feeling, and adds: "We have had enough of old men, long past their working days. We have had too much of incompetent cocksuredness. We are utterly weary of the imbecility of men chosen because of their rank or wealth. We want all this brought to an end, and we want real capacity at the head," and the *Times* itself, one of the great causes of the "War," and the special advocate of Mr. Chamberlain, does not hesitate continually to harp on the string of Ministerial inefficiency and says that people are "patient but perplexed to see that while the prolongation of the struggle in South Africa is the cause of public anxiety and to a great extent paralyses our influence all over the world, our Ministers are sitting beside their nectar as though all were for the best in the best of all conceivable worlds," quite forgetting its own *protege*, Lord Milner's remark about "the great virtue of patience" (!) to the poor folk in Natal.

To make "confusion worse confounded"—or rather seeing his inevitable end approaching, and wishing to fall under another count than the criminal "war" which he initiated, and has mismanaged, and prevented from being brought to a close—Chamberlain speaking at Edinburgh, vigorously attacked the Irish Members, and said that the Government proposed to alter the arrangements of the House so as better to control the men who tried to degrade it. The over-representation of Ireland, he said, would be submitted to the nation at the next General Election! And Mr. Redmond's answer to this was, that "the Irish people would have ample justification for taking up arms to obtain their freedom!" Have we, we may ask, entered on an era of insanity everywhere? Even General Sir Redvers Buller, the most popular man in the Army, has been suddenly "dismissed" for publicly challenging the *Times* in regard to a telegram, on the

plea that he was subverting "discipline," and what is better, *Lord Roberts was the moving party.* A chorus of indignation is sounding through the country, and for once Lord Roberts may find that he has gone too far, even though "the Cabinet had unanimously supported him." The Cabinet itself will probably be swept away, and he with it. As for Sir Redvers Buller, whose rights were superseded in the War by the appointment of Lord Roberts, he should have resigned then and there—only he was too manly to do it. Had he not been before Ladysmith keeping the main body of Boer troops engaged, not only would Ladysmith have fallen, but Lord Roberts with all his augmented forces could not have turned Cronje's flank, compelling him to quit his position, nor indeed marched on Bloemfontein, or done anything. Lord Roberts probably knows this. Sir Redvers Buller, however, is well out of the whole thing now—one more of our finest Generals lost owing to this "War"—and it is not improbably supposed that he purposely brought about his dismissal, in order that the country may fairly judge between him and his one enemy. As for his suggesting the surrender of Ladysmith to Sir George White, that remains yet to be proved, and his challenge to produce the telegram has not been taken up. The *Times* itself says, that General Buller preferred dismissal to resignation, to which he was called by—of all papers—the *Spectator* (!) and to which the *Speaker* replied as follows:—

> "It is characteristic of the degradation of modern journalism that the *Spectator*, of all reviews, should attack the appointment of Sir Redvers Buller. It is characteristic of the state into which the public mind has fallen that this attack should have been read and noticed. It is characteristic of a time in which civilians without an ounce of military experience are dressed in khaki and called soldiers, that this piece of folly should be regarded as a weighty indictment of a man under whose leadership the finest work of the war was done. Sir Redvers Buller commanded an army of regulars—that army, though superior in numbers to the enemy, was in no such monstrous disproportion as the great host which was ultimately gathered under Lord Roberts. It had to attack the strongest position in South Africa. It was able, under Sir Redver's command, to attack again and again with unabated vigour. The actions it fought are to those in which our irregulars have distinguished themselves as a man's work to a boy's. It bore a far higher proportion of casualties, and with far less boasting than any of the theatrical levies which are after the very heart of the *Spectator* and the *Times*. This army must have been the best led of all our corps; it did by far the finest work, and that means that it had an excellent commander. Sir Redvers Buller deserves all the respect and admiration which that army continue to pay him. But the opinion of soldiers is the last thing that will guide the opinion of England to-day in the conduct of war. We read the *Spectator* instead."

There is nothing more to be said of Home matters, except

that it is all chaos and confusion, and that there is a crisis approaching, the Liberal party, too, being just as disunited as ever, and unable to see what they should do. The only redeeming feature is the Fleet, though even here, whereas no foreign country, with the exception of Italy, retains muzzle-loaders upon their vessels, ten of our battleships are fitted with a total number of seventy-five of these weapons. One Italian battleship, the Duilio, has four 17·5in. muzzle-loaders. Again, although we have only ten coast defence vessels, seven of them are partially armed with muzzle-loaders—twenty-four, being the total in use. The ten British battleships bearing obsolete guns are the Ajax, Agamemnon, Temeraire, Inflexible, Superb, Alexandra, Dreadnought, Sultan, Monarch, and Hercules.

The result of the Umpires' decisions in regard to the late Naval Manœuvres is thus summarized :—

1. Speed in a squadron of battleships is of the utmost importance, and under some circumstances spells victory. It is equivalent to the weather gauge in Nelson's day.
2. For scouting purposes a far larger number of cruisers is desirable than has ever been attached to any manœuvring fleets.
3. Wireless telegraphy, in consequence of the leakage of information, is, in its present state of development, a dangerous accessory to the other means of communication.
4. For holding the command of the English Channel and the defence of oversea commerce, a Force is required by this country consisting of a squadron of modern, well-armed, and armoured battleships of the best possible speed, and a cloud of swift cruisers, and several flotillas of torpedo craft. Such a battle fleet, in case of war against an up-to-date foe, we do not at present possess, as the Channel Squadron would at such a moment be concentrated off Gibraltar to reinforce the Mediterranean command.

Among minor matters Mr. Rhodes has been convicted of paying £5,000 to the Liberal funds to secure that party from evacuating Egypt—of course the Liberal leaders knew nothing of this extraordinary transaction, nor did it affect their views one way or the other. The *Times* thus comments on Mr. Rhodes' morality :—

"The transaction he (Rhodes) proposed was demoralising, and he deserved to be sold, as sold he undoubtedly was. It is the besetting sin of Mr. Rhodes that he regards most things as purchaseable. The *Times* adds that Mr. Rhodes is within reach of greatness and tantalises us with feeling that only the illuminating of spirituality is wanting to enable him to attain it.

Mr. Markham, Liberal Member, Mansfield, too, speaking at Nottinghamshire, asked whether Mr. Rhodes would tell the country whether a considerable number of shares in the Chartered Company were given to Mr. Schnadhorst in 1890, whether they were given for the Liberal party and what was the value, and what Mr. Schnadhorst did with them.

Poor self-conceited Sir Ashmead Bartlett—"Silomo"—who

hob-nobed with the Sultan of Turkey a while ago, has gone to the wall and his creditors have accepted seven and six pence in the pound. It thus cost those who believed in him twelve and six pence in every pound! Lord Dufferin has been unveiling the bust of Sir William Hunter at the Indian Institute, Oxford. The speech made was quite ornate, though we remember seeing Sir William come out a plain poor young Assistant, saw him working in his "Shirtsleeves" in his den tended by his faithful nurse "J——" knew him to be hopeless and terribly—involved, helped him on with the Viceroy Sir John Lawrence, and finally, saw him safe up the top rung of the ladder. He had a short memory, and latterly had fallen off even in his knowledge of India. Finally, a terrible sensation has been created by the revelations connected with the English Benedictine Nuns in Rome.

The Australian Colonies have, under the Commonwealth, begun to show more of their true disposition. This disposition has been marked in the following ways:—First, in regard to the prohibition of "coloured" labour. The Senate has ratified by 16 to 12 votes the House of Representatives Amendment to the Postal Bill prohibiting coloured labour on Mail Steamers, the Senators giving three cheers for a "White" Australia [What about the North? Is half of the entire great Continent to remain unpeopled even by Japanese, who are not reckoned as "Asiatics" by Mr. Chamberlain?]. Again; a Pacific Islanders' Exclusion Bill, affecting the entire Sugar industry in Queensland, has been brought forward; but naturally, the Queensland Cabinet are opposed to it. Again; the Federal House of Representatives in Australia has adopted the clause in the Immigration Restriction Bill prohibiting the entry into the Commonwealth of any person under contract to perform manual labour. The education test has been amended to include any European language.

Finally, in regard to the question of "colour" a number of coloured aliens from Calcutta have arrived at Melbourne, and Premier Barton has directed that they be not admitted, unless proved to be British subjects, as he could not allow an undue influx of aliens, pending the passing of the Restriction Act.

There is a power of "veto" in regard to these Bills with Mr. Chamberlain, and he pulls the other way naturally, and the public have not only begun to resent his interference, but are openly consigning the power of veto "to perdition"—which means they are ready to "cut the painter"—a fine termination of all his crude plans for "the Empire!" We have already alluded to the case of General Beatson calling some of the Australians "white-livered curs." This has been warmly taken up in Australia, and a scene even enacted in the House

of Assembly at Melbourne. We are afraid there will not be many more "Australian Contingents" leaving for the front. Things thus have begun already to "cut up rough," and it will be worse as time goes by, and as we shall see.

Then again; the Tariff Bill has upset everyone out of Australia. The new duties include:—sugar, 120 shillings per ton, excise 60 shillings, with a rebate of 40 shillings if grown with white labour; tea, *2d.* a pound plus 20 per cent. *ad valorem;* coca, *2d.* a pound plus 15 per cent. *ad valorem;* cottons and linens from 10 to 15 per cent. *ad valorem.* Bounties are provided to encourage new industries, especially iron smelting and the manufacure of machinery. In a discussion of the Chamber of Representatives, on Wednesday, Mr. Reid declared that the Opposition would resist the tariff with their utmost strength. On division the Bill was carried.

In the New Zealand Commonwealth the Tariff is generally considered to be a blow to that Colony, and the Premier Sir R. Seddon hints at a retaliating tariff.

Further; in regard to the "loyalty" of Australia, Cardinal Moran of Sydney has declared that "unless Mr. Chamberlain defers to the representations of Australia regarding the King's declaration oath, which representations were supported by the Federal Parliament, the Australians, being an independent people, will startle Great Britain sooner than Britons expect!"

The Federal flag has been selected out of 30,000 designs sent in. In the top left-hand corner is a small Union Jack. Immediately beneath this a broad six-pointed star, a point for each State in the Union. On the other half of the flag, the Southern Cross is depicted by white stars slightly out of the perpendicular. For the official, or Government flag the groundwork is blue, whilst the Mercantile Marine of the Commonwealth will fly it in red. The Sydney Assembly has read the Women's Franchise Bill a third time. Sir George Clarke has been appointed Governor of Victoria, and Sir Arthur Havelock is on his way to Tasmania to assume the Governorship there. Sir E. Collen is spoken of for Queensland.

The United States have been full of mourning for the late President McInley, and his Anarchist assassin has been executed. Roosevelt succeeds as President, and declares he will carry out McInley's policy in everything. Colonel Hay does not resign. A new treaty has been signed with England, regarding the Canal, in which England gives up all her rights. America guarantees neutrality in time of peace but can do anything in time of war! The Philippine "War" is not yet concluded.

INDIA—POLITICAL.—The first subject here of importance

(the Queen's memorial lying over to our next issue, as well as the article on Lord Curzon's attempt to belittle Delhi in the *Nineteenth Century* magazine) is the Proclamation of the King as Emperor of India, Burmah, and the Islands lying adjacent thereto. Delhi has been selected as the place where the ceremony is to come off, and as the assembly will be very great, with numerous large camps, preliminary steps are already being taken to survey the ground. The date of the ceremony will probably be fixed after the Coronation of the King and Queen in London. Many people are of opinion that the Emperor should be here in person, and no doubt Lord Curzon will do his best that it should be so.

The subject next in importance politically is the death of Amir Abdur Rahaman of Cabul. We referred to this event as probable in our last. He was a man who sought first to secure himself; next, to make his country independent and strong; and lastly, to stick to the British alliance. Considering the enormous subsidy he received from India, and how much it helped him on, his sticking to us will not appear strange. In securing himself, he scrupled at nothing. His cruelty, cunning, and ambition are equally marked—the two last as much in his published works as in his acts. He had also an extraordinary idea as the "head of Islam" in his own country. With all his knowledge of, and contact with European civilisation, he was extremely narrow-minded in the matter of railways and giving facilities of trade. Suspicious, crafty, cruel, all for self, narrow-minded, and assuming the garb of sanctity, he cannot be ranked among one of the greater sovereigns of even Moslem dynasties, and in our opinion, not even with Dost Mahommed, or Shere Ali, the last having only proved unfortunate when England cast aside his advances. Had we treated Abdur Rahaman in a similar way, he would not have occupied his throne for a day; and it was we who broke up Shere Ali after throwing him into the arms of Russia and not his own people. Besides, Shere Ali was far more enlightened, and at the same time kind and merciful. We happened to be very near his territories at one time, and listened to many a story of his uprightness, force of character and clemency from natives, one in particular, to his eternal honor, when at the risk of his life he saved two Indian Christian converts when being led out to death. Abdur Rahaman could never have approached such heroism. He has left Habibulla as his successor, and an apparently consolidated kingdom. As we write things are going on smoothly; there are any number of regiments kept ready near Cabul, and Habibulla has been acknowledged, and further, secured himself by largesses to the soldiery. This is a suspicious sign of weakness. He has, however, had every training required for his

difficult place, and has also been recognised by the Government of India. What the future may bring forth in a country like Afghanistan no one can venture to predict. Should any trouble arise we believe any active support by the Indian Government would result in Russia, too, appearing on the scene. Should Habibulla manage to pull on, it may be interesting to get him, too, to come to the Proclamation at Delhi. It is possible that, for one or other of many reasons, the late Amir's work will not last, and Lord Curzon should be alive to not getting England again into a "trap" by unwise and hasty interference, as has been often before. All his "knowledge of Central Asian problems" will not save his reputation, or the *nation serious* damage, should he land us into a big complication over Cabul.

We had received only a brief telegraphic report of Lord Hamilton's speech on the Budget when we wrote last. Since then the full text has come in, and is much more florid than we expected. Lord Hamilton is one of the only three in the Ministry worth much, and can also speak well when he likes. In India, however, the picture drawn by him fades considerably. It is quite true that revenues continue to increase—but how? The other side of the picture is seen in an oppressive Salt Tax, in regard to which there are continual riots and severe punishments, famine and distress in parts—especially in South India, Police insecurity and open lawlessness, and such like matters of considerable meaning as regards contentment and good government. Here is an extract from one paper, and that represents what goes on even in other cities and towns, large and small, such as Nellore, Agra, and Calcutta!—"ARCOT, *8th September*.—On Saturday night, when it was raining heavily, a gang of dacoits, armed with torches, committed a series of dacoities at Arcot. The gang, it is reported, consisted of about 25 men, who carried, besides torches, crow bars and pick-axes. At about 11 P.M. they broke into the house of a poor trader in the middle of the town and within two furlongs of the local Police Station, and inflicted very serious injuries on the inmates of the house. Half a dozen of the unfortunate occupants are now lying in a hopeless state in the hospital, with severe injuries to their heads and limbs." Of course, with all this insecurity of life and property, and even unsafe travelling on public roads, the Viceroy has nothing to do. He has to attend only to "Frontier Provinces," the "Memorial," Antiquarian rubbish, "jungle marches," and the like. Nor has he anything to do with the oppressive Salt Tax—oppresive only to the very poorest and most destitute—or the harassing Income Tax on the poorest incomes, but with the pompous inflation of a public Library not wanted, and with Ethnographic measuring the bodies of tribes, male and female. There is an army of employés

along the extended sea-coasts of the empire to see no "illicit" salt manufactured, and as only the very poorest of the poor live about, they are continually taken up and severely and most disproportionately punished. (The same happens in connection with the numerous *unenclosed* "forests"—which were once the free heritage of the wretched people living about.) We write of India proper, but here is an extract from a Burma paper regarding the matter of salt:—"Every one admits that salt is an absolute necessary of life as much as air, water and food. To tax it as heavily as is done in the Indian Empire affects the poorest portion of the population. When the salt tax in India was lower, the consumption is said to have been fifteen to sixteen pounds per head. In Bengal in 1897 it was only ten pounds and in Bombay a little under 9¾ pounds. The salt tax in India and Burma does not take into account the ability of the consumer to pay. To attempt to abolish the local salt manufacture of this Province in order to reap a larger revenue on imported salt from Europe is an altogether harsh and unnecessary measure, which, if the facts were sufficiently known, would never be allowed by Parliament." And, in regard to the Police here is a sample of one out of nearly a score of questions which the Inspector-General has issued for the public to reply to:—"Is it a fact that they are, generally speaking, oppressive to the people?" And, amid all the questions, we do not note any corruption of the Police or their torturing people when in their power, of which horrible tales now and then leak out. It is unnecessary to pursue the subject of a fair show outside and rottenness within. We referred in a previous number to Mr. Vaughan Nash's "An Empire Adrift" in the *Contemporary*, and he advocates:—

> (i.) Elasticity of revenue demand—by the introduction of a fluctuating system based on the year's actual crops, such as obtains in parts of the Punjab;
>
> (ii.) Reversion to the old order of things, under which land could not be alienated outside the tribe; and
>
> (iii.) The power to go behind the bond, or, better still, administrative rather than judicial settlement of debt disputes.

Whatever we may think about (ii), (iii) is excellent, and (i) is carried out, in principle, in civilized Belgium, and even among the most "primitive" states—being based on equity. To the above Mr. Nash says:—"It seems conceivable that district councils of village representatives might be formed without endangering what is called our hold of India." The idea is that this initial representation would mitigate many of the evils. There is no doubt there is much in this, and the ground is prepared by the existence of the old system of Village Unity and the local District Boards. The police, at least, would come to know that they are the servants and not the masters of the unfortu-

nates who fall into their hands, and robberies might be less rife and roads safer. This establishment of representative district village councils, with some real power, might be worthy of Lord Curzon's attention, and might prove true and lasting statesmanship, but, alas! he is too busy with passing fads. If he wishes to go down to posterity along with such bright shining names, Munro, Dalhousie, Canning, Lawrence, Mayo, Ripon, and Dufferin, he must do something that will stand the test of time, will increase good government and loyalty, and permanently add to the wealth of the country,—he must put aside what sycophants and *claquers* of the Press say about him, devote less time to a "Curzon's Folly," and begin to learn again the A, B, C of India. As the Persian poet sings:—

"Nothing is accomplished without suffering,
A pearl is not raised without diving,
To float about on summer seas is not attaining."

The Famine Commission's Report has been issued, and except the recommendation that time should be taken by the forelock, and human lives should not be trifled with by iron-bound rules, there is not much in it—and the above recommendations really should not be necessary.

The Educational Conference has met at Simla, and dissolved, and the Viceroy made an excellent speech, and personally attended the meetings. The result will be seen by-and-bye. As yet we can only see that the Viceroy is bent on having another highly and highly-paid "Imperial" Officer (with his "office") who will only be purely ornamental, who will have necessarily to leave everything to the local Directors of Public Instruction, but who will be the symbol of "centralisation." As for English Education, high or low—ninety-nine hundred thus mere cramming,—it will never accomplish the regeneration of three hundred millions of men, nor supplant the principle of only Vernacular progress, nor supply the training of character. "Cram" will continue to flourish as heretofore. We have in this issue an article on the subject of Educational Reform by an "Expert," and a Scholar of Lord Curzon's own University. For ourselves, we are slow enough to think that education, high and low, should be left to those who want the article; or, if Government must move, that it move equally in English, Hindustani, and the great provincial vernaculars; that more time should be given to thorough grounding all round; that character should be set as the highest object to be aimed at; and that the standard of marks for passing should be raised double; and finally, that no mere School or College course should be reckoned the essential for admittance into the Public Services.

The "Frontier Province" has now been launched, and is to

be immediately under the Viceroy (as if he has nothing else to attend to). There will practically be little disturbance among the Deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners belonging to the Punjab who are now serving on the Frontier their services being retained under the new form of administration. Similar arrangements will be made regarding the *personnel* of the various Departments. But from where will the future supplies be brought?—from Burma, Bengal, or Tinnevelly? The additional cost, besides the lakhs required for public buildings at Peshawar, is estimated at Rs. 3,55,000 *per annum* which, at 10 *p. c.*, works out a capital (expenditure) of *three crores and-a-half*. It is not, therefore, surprising that other Viceroys never carried out the project. As regards the officering, formerly every public Punjab Officer from Delhi to Peshawar felt himself, and was trained to be, an Imperial Frontier Officer. It elevated and braced him up. Now, he may as well be, as we have said above, in Chittagong, or Mergui, or the Andamans for the old Punjab Imperial instinct to stir in him. It throws, too, an enormous amount of patronage into the Viceroy's hands, or into the hands of his Deputy at Peshawar, which can never possibly be well or judiciously applied."

In the matter of Curtailment of Reports we quoted some months back the lugubrious lament of a South Indian journal. The following is the voice of a journal of North India. We have always held that a hash has been made of the matter, and things can only turn to their old groove, though any quantity of statistics may be omitted, the totals only being given, and some Reports of little public importance be furnished only once in five years:—

"The Chemical Examiner in Madras, unlike the Chemical Examiners in Northern India, has an eye to the romance of his work, and his Report for 1900, just published, is as 'plotty' as one of Miss Braddon's novels. Not content with merely analysing the mysterious bottled specimens that are sent to him by the Police and other authorities, Lieutenant Colonel J. L. van Geyzel, I.M.S., insists on learning the 'history' of each case, with the result that he is able to write every year a criminal calendar as well as a chemical dissertation. The Report in its complete form occupies 20 pages, and Lieutenant-Colonel van Geyzel asks that he may be allowed to continue to prepare his Annual Reports in the present form. This is *à propos* of the new orders of the Government of India relative to the curtailment of official literature. We have lately seen what 'curtailment' has done for the Reports of Chemical Examiners in Northern India. In the Punjab it has wiped Major Grant's Report out of existence entirely. In the North-West Provinces it has reduced Professor Hankin's Report to a single page, devoid of all point and meaning. Obviously the flaw in the new régime of literary reform in Administrative Departments lies in the unintelligent assumption that a Report is to be considered too long, not according to what it contains but according to the number of its pages. A wooden rule goes forth that a given num-

ber of pages must in future suffice as the maximum for a given Report; unaccompanied by any guarantee that the pruning knife will merely rid the tree of super-abundant boughs. As a matter of fact the length of a Report has never been the real subject of complaint: a Report cannot be pronounced too long merely in respect of its bulk. Reasonable criticism has been directed solely against the practice of inflating Blue-Books with useless appendices or other undigested and undigestible pabulum, the preparation of which involves an inordinate amount of close clerical toil, to say nothing of the subsequent trouble thrown upon the reader who must wade through heaps of chaff to find a few grains of wheat In the case of Lieutenant-Colonel van Geyzel's Report, which is admitted by the Madras Government to be 'as usual full of interest,' curtailment in order to bring it into line with the vacuous Reports of some other Chemical Examiners would simply deprive it of its whole *raison d'être* Dr. van Geyzel has drawn attention in an interesting and, therefore, forceful manner to what is undoubtedly a glaring evil in all parts of India—the unrestricted traffic in dangerous poisons—and had he been hampered, as others have considered themselves hampered, by the new bogey of 'curtailment,' he must have failed to do justice to his subject."

The matter of the origination of the idea of the Imperial Cadet Corps, which Mr. McLaren Morrison claimed, has, it seems, not ended with the denial of the Private Secretary, or even the further light cast on the subject by the *Statesman* or by ourselves. Mr. J. C. MacGregor writes from London that he was the Calcutta Correspondent of the *Times* (London) from 1875 to 1895, and says:—"I think it ought to be pointed out that Mr. Lawrence is under a misconception if he means to claim that the Imperial Cadet scheme is an entirely original idea on the part of Lord Curzon; for, as a matter of fact, a very similar scheme was suggested several years ago, under the title of "An Indian Sandhurst," by his Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who then held a Command in India; and, as I have said, the same idea has been kept steadily before the public by Mr. McLaren Morrison for some fifteen years past." Lord Dufferin, and Sir Henry Lawrence, are entirely out of Mr. MacGregor's account. In any case, even Mr. Walter Lawrence may be content to give the claim of priority to these eminent Indian Statesmen, if not to H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught,—even if he is unwilling to allow it to a "somebody named McLaren Morrison."

After all, the only reasonable defence of Lord Curzon's "Travel Resolution" that we have seen is furnished by Lord George Hamilton who, in answer to a question in the House as to the right of the Viceroy to interfere with the private arrangements of Indian Princes, said:—"I do not think that the Hon'ble gentleman has quite mastered the situation. The authority and power of the Indian Government have behind them the support and authority of the Indian Princes, and if the Indian Princes leave their territory they are, in consequence, protected from disturbance or disquietude inside their

territory. Therefore it is not unreasonable that the Indian Government should ask that they should be consulted in regard to the frequency and duration of absence from India, during which the reigning Princes abandon the reins of authority in their own country."

Lord Curzon seems to be still bent on his Burma Tour, and to make those long "jungle marches," notwithstanding the extremely threatening aspect of public affairs all over the world. We can only trust that if he persists in going, he will not come to any bodily grief on those wild marches, even with thirty odd servants. And the sudden appearance of a tiger on the scene might not be very agreeable. But perhaps it is this very element of "shooting" which may have irresistible attraction, and we must have to add another twelfth part of a year sacrificed to "sport" within the twelve-month! The Members of Council have made most of the arrangements for their tours. Sir Charles Rivaz goes first to Bombay and then to Calcutta, staying at Nagpur *en route*. He also leaves Calcutta about the 10th proximo for a month's tour in Assam. Sir Edward Law, the Financial Member, visits Rajputana, Bombay and the Central Provinces. Mr. Raleigh visits various Colleges and Schools of importance, while General Elles makes a first acquaintance with Burma, and Mr. Arundel sees some of the great irrigation and other public works in the Punjab and Upper India.

Before we conclude this portion of our notes we have to remark on the quantity of fulsome trash that has appeared in various quarters—not less in the *Times* than in independent articles in papers and magazines—written by friends, or sycophants and expectants of favours, in which Lord Curzon is depicted either as "the greatest Governor-General India has ever had," or, as superior to most. In one article especially, "the last six Viceroys" are represented as mere "figure-heads" (!) or "dummies" (!!!). Surely the Viceroy has cause to exclaim:—"Save me from my *friends*!" To examine all these articles would be to waste paper and time and the patience of our readers. To the writers of such unmitigated trash we can only say, that "fulsome flattery always defeats its ends, and is only applied by, and to, or taken in by, fools." We ourselves have a strong regard for the Viceroy, and carefully note his course, but we forbear to pass as yet any opinion on him—nay, we have even restrained in our last a very severe indictment against him. But it must be evident that if such unmitigated trash as lately appeared in the *Fortnightly* from an "On-Looker" continues to pour forth, the "other side of the story" will also only necessarily appear. Thus it is, therefore, we find "Another On-looker" writing

in a daily paper :—"When I left India a short time ago the Viceroy had succeeded in quarrelling with almost everyone of standing, Civil or Military, and chiefly through a spirit of aggressive interference, which is no part of a great ruler's character. There is a right way and a wrong way of doing things, and certainly the right way is not to quarrel persistently with your subordinates. If Lord Curzon were ten years older and had half the knowledge of the world of Lord Dufferin, he might make a good Viceroy; as it is, he has in India more the reputation of a busybody than a statesman, and public opinion would certainly place him below Lord Mayo, Lord Dufferin, or Lord Lansdowne, to quote only recent Viceroys."

How Lord Curzon is regarded at home may be seen from a late paragraph in the same leading Indian journal:—"A well-informed London correspondent attributes the bungling of the Cabinet in Persian Gulf affairs to a jealousy of Lord Curzon. He writes: 'Some, however, explain that the Cabinet, *i.e.*, the weak-kneed 'Inner Cabinet'—Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Lansdowne—have been very much actuated by a jealousy of Lord Curzon. He is a strong man, the strongest we have had in India since Lord Dalhousie, and with a masterful knowledge of Eastern politics, and he having advised a Protectorate over Koweit, it is sufficient that the aristocratic clique of old crocks and nincompoops should repudiate his advice. This is scarcely probable, but it is not impossible, for the jealousy of Lord Curzon is very marked in certain influential quarters here, who are glad to justify themselves by the extraordinary unpopularity of His Excellency with certain classes in India, which the imitative Native Press now seem inclined to aggravate after its most aggravating manner." And it is not quite a secret that Lord Curzon did not find himself very much appreciated, and was, as pointed out by "Westminster" in his article on "Mr. Chamberlain's Dictatorship," really "shunted on" to India to get rid of him. But his *claquers*, admirers, friends, and sycophants will not allow him to rest and do his work quietly even here. For ourselves we believe that, if he can only get the needed inspiration, he may yet prove the hope and salvation of the true Conservative party at home, but it will not be by fulsome trash in "leading," or other, journals and magazines. It will depend on himself—on his denying himself, and self-restraint, and, we may add, the self-restraint and wisdom of his friends.

There is not much to note from either Bombay or Madras this past quarter.

Land legislation, as we stated in our last, has been rife all

over India, save Bengal, though it is here that it is most needed. This is a large subject, and along with Political and other Titles, and the new Province—"Curzon Provinces"—we hope to see to in our next.

NATIVE STATES, PRINCES, &c.

His Highness the Nizam has been carrying out the reforms we sketched out in April last, months before any of the newspapers had any inkling even of what was coming. A Hindu, of an old family, has been appointed Prime Minister; and the hosts of strangers from the North-West Provinces and other parts of India, who held the fattest posts in the country, have been dismissed. It is intended henceforth to employ the Nizam's own subjects and natives of South India. These, whether Hindus or Mahomedans, offer a large choice, and will certainly not be worse, even if not so "ornamental,"—and very probably be better—than the strangers, whether from Lucknow, Aligurh, or Patna. Over the whole of the new administration, the Nizam himself will exercise a personal supervision. In the meantime, the Government of India lends a high officer to put the financial working of the State on a proper footing. All this is as it should be. Hyderabad is one of the finest and richest States in India, and there is no reason why it should not be well administered by its own native agency, now that high education has spread over South India including Hyderabad. Mere education, however, does not make good administration. In this way, too, the continual masked contest between the Supreme Government and the State will come to an end, and the post of Resident will no longer be one of the most difficult in India—to reconcile varied and conflicting interests, etc. We note, too, another move in the right direction in this State. Independent Europeans will no longer be allowed to settle without permission. Were this rule to be applied to all strangers, including Parsees, it would be well. The Parsees, even though from Bombay, are as truly strangers to the State as Europeans. If Lord Curzon sees to the new *régime* having a fair trial, and can see through this effort of the finest Native State in India trying to make head way, even as others, he will have done more than many another more showy action, and add to the gratitude of the State itself. And the Nizam himself will have risen to a new life full of hope for himself and his country.

Proceeding northward, Baroda continues on its path of enlightened progress though it has parted with its late Dewan. A great deal depends, in Native States, upon the personal character as well as ability of the Dewan, or Prime Minister, but here, in Baroda, we have a Chief at once highly enlightened, active, and who personally attends to matters of State. We

believe the Chief has secured a thoroughly respectable and respected, as well as able, man for his new Prime Minister.

We next come to Punnah, the diamond-bearing State of Bundelcund, where the young Chief has been removed under a guard to Nowgong, to undergo a trial and free himself from an alleged complicity in poisoning his predecessor. This happened some time ago, and we cannot understand how, if the matter was so, that it has slept so long. There ought surely to be some bar of limitation as to time in such matters, as anything may be got up after a while, and in Native-governed States anything may be got up at any time by a few disaffected. In one of our previous issues we noted that Punnah was a Native State which offered the example of having a Christian as the Chief Minister. Our memory may fag, but we know that it was so during very many years of the rule of the predecessor of the present Chief, the very person who is alleged to be implicated. Let us add, in concluding our note on this matter, that half the Native Baids and Hakeems poison their patients—of course in ignorance—just as there are wrong treatments and mischances with European Doctors—and it is an easy thing to put one and two together and make it four, bringing in an innocent Chief into it.

The young Maharajah of Jodhpur, after paying a visit to Europe, and being "received" by the King-Emperor, has returned to India, and been accorded great welcomes in Bombay and his own capital. It will be seen that while the Viceroy's "Travel Resolution" hardly affects the few bigger Princes—for Bhawalpur, too, is shortly to set forth on the "grand tour"—the numerous small ones, whose enlightenment is equally a matter of moment, are caught in its meshes. The resolution was well made to strain at gnats and let camels through. To return:—The Maharajah of Jodhpur left India in April, and on arriving at Naples he and his party, which includes three Native Princes and half-a-dozen Aides-de-Camp and native servants, visited Rome and Venice on their way to Carlsbad. He took the waters for five weeks, and then Vienna, Innsbruck, and Salzburg were visited, after which the party rested for sometime at Lucerne, going on later to Interlaken and Berne. While in Switzerland the party did some mountaineering by aid of the familiar electric railway, but the thing that interested here most was the sight of the snow, which he saw for the first time when climbing up the Eiger glacier. He considered St. Peter's at Rome the most wonderful building he had ever seen. Captain and Mrs. Bannerman accompanied the Maharajah, and on their arrival in Paris they put up at the Hotel International, whence they set out each day to see the sights of the capital.

The Maharajah expressed the highest admiration for the people of England. He is eloquent in his praises of their polished manners and of their earnest endeavours to bring into practical use the latest developments in science and art. He spoke in terms of gratitude for the cordial welcome extended to him at every place that he visited in Great Britain. The courtesy of the English nobility, their activity in business, and their progress in civilization, he says, has the tendency to mystify the Indian mind and make it realise its own darkness. The Indians, the Maharajah says, are destined to be ruled and guided by the Britishers. He is of opinion that the former should learn all that was possible for them, if they aspired to develop into a great nation.

The liberal, enlightened, and humane Maharajah of Jeypur has placed another sum of four lakhs to the credit of the Famine Fund he inaugurated with a first gift of nineteen lakhs. It is such princes who have conserved India during the last three thousand years; and it does seem strange to us how slow far richer princes, even such a Lord Curzon's favourite as young Gwalior—are to follow the good example set by Jeypur.

The young Chief of Puttiala has been installed or recognised by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, a Council of Regency directly under British supervision being formed to administer the State during the minority of the prince.

We noted, in our last, the marriage and liberality of the young Nawab of Bahawulpur, and that Colonel Grey represented Government with him. It is now arranged that the Nawab proceeds on a visit to England in Colonel Grey's charge, and His Highness could not have a more thoroughly kind-hearted and capable officer to be with him. The great thing in these visits of Native Princes and Chiefs to Europe is to place a limit on expenditure, and to keep harpies and others from preying on them. We make no doubt that Colonel Grey will see to both, as well as the increase of useful knowledge in his youthful charge. Colonel Grey is a man who would be an acquisition as an adviser in any Native State in India.

The first batch of princely cadets are to proceed to Meerut this cold season for their exercise. Admirable in itself, in many ways both for themselves and the country, we can only trust that no false pretensions will make the corps displace a single younger member of a noble family from devoting himself to agriculture, or developing the economic and industrial wealth of India.

Finally, in regard to the political Chiefs and Princes of India, it is proposed to permit a limited number of them to be present at the Coronation of the King-Emperor. It will

be a heavy charge on the revenues of India, for they will go as India's representatives, and be guests from the day they set foot on the steamer till they land back again. Some have proposed the very large number of fifteen. We should think even eight more than sufficient for a mere pageant and to accentuate the political meaning attached. The Nizam and Kashmir, the two biggest of all, cannot or would not go. The Maharana of Meywar would not move nor Travancore. Of the others, we have Baroda, Indore, Bhopal, Jeypur, Gwalior, Mysore and Rampur. Puttiala, as being too young, cannot go. Bahawulpur will be there in the course of his proposed visit. Of the eight we have mentioned above, one or two may hold back. We do not see what place the Maharajah of Cooch Behar, even though "political," has in the list of half-a-dozen or so of the great representative princes of India, though his *claquers* in the press have already settled it among themselves that he—who seems to have been more in England than any one else—shall be one of the party. We trust Lord Curzon will make an appropriate selection, and that there be no more than half-a-dozen or so—perhaps a Gilgit Chief and a Shan Tsawbwa joined on to add to the picturesqueness of the body.

Among non-political leading natives, Zemindars of Bengal, the "Maharajah" of Durbhunga's case with his tenants, which we had no space to notice at length in our last, showed that the "model" territory was really seething with grave internal troubles with the ryots. The Commissioner found against the Maharajah's management. This Zemindar with his "manuscript eloquence," whether in the Council Chamber or in the Hall of the British Indian Association, is constantly trying to push himself and his name forward before the public—even of England!—as one of India's "princes"—we are sure the Maharana of Meywar or the Maharajah of Kashmir or even any of the lesser princes would not recognise him, or even Cooch Behar as one of their body—it appears that this "Zemindar," who travels so far out of his sphere, is innocent of any knowledge of how things are managed for him on his estate. Yet, we believe, he enjoys the very handsome income raised from it, which reminds us of some other Zemindar in East Bengal. Illegal cesses, *abwabs*, forced contributions for this, that, and the other, on every possible occasion, by the myrmidons of his Zemindary increased his revenues to about double the amount within the memory of some living, for he is dead. He, of course, knew nothing,—perhaps he "winked."—but he enjoyed all the substantial money thus raised contrary to Government regulations. We do not know what is the state in that Zemindary now; but both that instance, and this of

Durbhunga, lead us to recommend a general over-hauling of the way things are carried out on these large estates, even if "managed" by Europeans, every five years or so, by a specially appointed Commissioner, to hear petitions of ryots, and report to Government. There would then be no "agrarian revolts," nor need of moving bodies of troops, nor would the poor be mercilessly robbed for the aggrandisement of their all powerful "Zemindar"—an officer, be it remembered, whom we ourselves have created, to the serious loss of legitimate revenue, and whose operations, therefore, are under our supervision. We, of course, exempt entirely from these observations, the leading nobleman of Bengal, the Maharajah of Burdwan, who pays half a million to the revenue, and who has given up his kingly estate to some score of lessees who have thereby themselves become "Rajahs."

We may conclude this section by noting that the difference between the Khettries and Mr. Risley has been settled even as we recommended. Mr. Risley, as Census Commissioner, writes a nice and sensible letter to Rajah Bup Behari Kapur and shows clearly that while the orders of his predecessors were in the wrong direction as regards Khettries, his own orders were exceedingly appropriate, placing them along with the Rajputs. He also says, that the new information he has received will enable him to revise the article "Khatri" in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*.

[As these notes are passing through the press, an official paragraph has been issued regarding the matter of the attendance of Indian Princes at the Coronation, and it will be seen that our recommendations, given above, as to those who are excused, and as to the number, tally exactly. We furnish here the notice *in extenso*:—

THE KING'S CORONATION.

SIMLA, *2nd Nov.*—His Majesty the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to issue invitations which have been accepted by the following Princes and Chiefs to attend his Coronation in London next June:—The Maharajah of Gwalior, the Rajah of Kolhapur, the Maharajah of Jaipur, the Nawab of Bahawalpur and the Rajah of Nabha. His Majesty is aware of the loyal feelings that would prompt a considerable number of Indian Princes to be present at the ceremony and would gladly have welcomed a larger deputation, but the considerations of space and the accommodation, however, compelled a limitation of the numbers, and an endeavour accordingly has been made to render the selection as representative as possible. From racial, religious and territoral points of view the following Princes received but for domestic or other reasons, were unable to accept the honour of his Majesty's invitation:—The Nizam of Hyderabad, the Maharana of Udaipur, the Maharajah of Travancore, and the Rajah of Cochin. His Majesty while excusing the attendance of the remaining Princes and Chiefs, is anxious to afford to them an opportunity of testifying their loyalty to his Throne and person and he has therefore instructed the Viceroy to hold a Durbar at Delhi on the 1st January, 1903, attendance at which will be regarded by his Majesty as equivalent to the presence at his Coronation. Steps are also being taken by the Viceroy

in receipt of instructions from the Secretary of State to select, with the aid of the local Government a small number of representative native gentlemen to attend his Majesty's Coronation from the different Provinces and Presidency Towns. Later on a similarly representative European deputation will be selected from Public bodies and from the various branches of the Public Service in India. It is also in contemplation to send a large Military Contingent to take part in the coronation ceremonies, representing all ranks and classes of the Native Army and the Imperial Service Troops. At the head of the last named deputation will be Sir Pertab Singh of Jodhpur.]

LITERATURE SCIENCE, ART AND EDUCATION.—According to our rule we review journalistic literature first. The *Madras Mail*, for inserting some specific charges against certain Municipal Officers, has had an action for libel brought against it by Colonel Sir George Moore, the President of the Municipality. The case promises to be a keen one, and the best lawyers have been retained on either side. As it is *sub-judice* at present, we refrain from commenting on it. We may, however, be permitted to say that it was a most absurd mistake for certain native members of the Municipality to try at the outset to censure their Chairman for taking action. They did not see that it was practically asking him to resign. As a consequence, not only did he refuse to take the chair, but no other European member would, and the *wrangle*—for it could have been nothing else—was fought out *in camera*. Here the *Madras Mail* had good cause to exclaim,—"Save me from my friends!"

The *Madras Times* has begun well under a new *regime* a new editor—Mr. Steer having been got out from the staff of the *Mail*. The old Editor Mr. Ormerod did as much as his other mercantile avocations permitted him. He lacked the necessary literary style and training, but his articles were always remarkable for a solid interest in the material progress of the country; and probably he deserved much more a public meeting to mark the close of his services than others more merely showy. The Hoff case for libel was decided in his favour, but on appeal the decision was reversed on a technical point. Such are the uncertainties of human law. A new monthly magazine called *East and West*, has been started in Bombay, and we wish it well. The number of these magazines of sorts, in various parts of India, especially in the Madras Presidency, is very large, and of only one, the *Arya*, can we say it is of any value. They are all owned or conducted by natives, and one would expect to see pure native talent arrayed in them, but it seems that they rely almost altogether on contributions by stray European writers. This is not as it ought to be, nor does it instil in us a high respect for native literary ability and talent. We would consider this as almost entirely absent in India, were it not for the papers we are privileged to receive and publish for the *Calcutta Review*.

These, however, probably mark the best talent there is in the country, and some of our native writers could hold their own, even in the best Home Journals. For instance, an article on "Colonial Policies" in our last April number could not be excelled for walking on a figurative tight rope swung over a precipice. And another in this issue, "Ram Bodh Muni—a Love Story of Nepal" could not possibly be beaten for pathos, beauty, and a true colouring of nature. Kipling himself is not near it. We write thus, lest we should seem to decry native literary talent and ability from our previous remarks. And yet again we notice another, and again another, monthly magazine—a *Ladies' Journal* and a Malabar Affairs, the former edited and written altogether by native ladies, which is as it should be—and is a bright and readable thing, and that is sure to succeed. This journal is the surest sign of India's advance in social regeneration. Before we conclude this portion of our remarks we may observe that, in reference to the article on "Serpent Worship" in our last, we were not previously aware of the extent of the "Serpent Cult" in India as set forth by the *Times of India*, in its issue of the 26th October last in its "leader" treating of our said paper. Here is what the *Times of India* writes [we may add that we have ourselves, ten years back, come on the belief of a monster serpent, not in Sumbulpore but near the sources of the Sone in the Central Provinces]:—

> "Little was known of the extent of this cult in India until Fergusson wrote his great volume on tree and serpent worship, illustrated by engravings of the sculptures that adorn the Buddhist topes at Sanchi and Amraoti. In that work, when Fergusson, after passing in review the instances and indications of tree and serpent worship in different parts of the world, comes to India, he remarks that many of his readers will be inclined to ask whether serpent worship exists at the present day in India, and that if the inquiry were addressed to even our best informed Indian authorities, the reply would probably be negative. If this was really the case at that time, his work certainly removed all doubt upon the subject by the numerous and striking instances of snake worship that he adduced. One of the most curious was the great serpent in Sumbulpore visited by Mr. Motte in 1766, which was supposed to have been worshipped there since the world began. It emerged every day from a cave, devoured a goat offered by its worshippers, and took a bath in the canal. It was still alive when Major Kittoe visited Sumbulpore in 1836, and for anything we know to the contrary may be living there still. Of sculptured snakes Fergusson mentions the image of the seven headed Naga, richly jewelled, and under a splendid canopy, which stands between Hanuman and Garuda in the great temple at Madura; and the two similar golden statues, still more richly jewelled which are the principal images in the temple of Seringham. He also shows how the stone sculptures of serpents insinuate themselves in the sacred sculptures of temples all over India, and how in Kashmere, according to Abulfazl, there were in Akbar's time only '45 places dedicated to the worship of Siva, 64 to Vishnu, but there were 700 places in the valley where there were carved images of snakes which the inhabitants worshipped.'"

Let us further add to the above, that we have also ourselves come upon a *saurian*—not a snake—in East Bengal, which in every respect of size, etc., was a pre-Adamitic geological epoch monster; and observe, that whatever this extensive and prevalent serpent cult may betoken—and it does mean much—there can be little doubt that the innumerable serpents carved round the lotus flower which may be seen in the remains of probably the oldest Buddhist Temple in India, is a reminder of the fall and emblematic of the Tree of Life.

We trust, in our words "Kipling himself is not near it," (used above) none of his devoted admirers will consider us as setting too low a mark on their favourite. Out of a great many reasons, only his having in a *Windsor Magazine* article, of his (in June 1897, if we remember right) on "Men who have won the Victoria Cross," set us up above even these, though undecorated, (in something relating to us in earlier days—when Lord Curzon was in the nursery, and Russia had not come into even Khiva in Central Asia—Kipling's "Khodajantakan Mountains"), would make us feel favourably disposed towards him. Kipling's true place in literature, however, is a subject above mere personal likes, and we hope to set it forth truly and impartially, neither depreciating him unduly and unjustly as the *Saturday Review*, or seeing in him the greatest "poet" of the age, because of a hysterical Bishop who went into tears over a stilted "Recessional," whenever we can command some space, which we cannot at present.

Mr. J. M. Maclean has in the press a work entitled, "Recollections of India and Westminster." Many of the papers collected in the volume were originally published in the *Manchester Guardian*, but they have been revised and enlarged, while the portion of the book relating to Mr. Maclean's Indian experiences has been considerably extended. Mr. Maclean has also included some very interesting historical letters from Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Bartle Frere, and other well-known public men. The work will be published before Christmas.

Our readers will remember our note in the early part of the year on the similarity between Hebrew and Sanscrit words when either of them is reversed, leading to inferences as to the mode of the Confusion of Tongues at the Tower of Babel. We have now "The Hebrew Origin of the Brahmins," an interesting essay (S. P. C. K. Press) by Mr. M. Venkataratnam, B. A., of the Teacher's College, Saidapet, Madras. In this the writer attempts to attribute Hebrew origin to the Brahmin of India from a comparative study of the Hebrew Bible and ancient Indo-Aryan literature; and tracing in them striking similarities in the laws pertaining to cleanliness, uncleanliness, priesthood,

etc., which are binding on the Hebrews and Hindu Brahmins, Mr. Venkataratnam is induced to attribute a Hebrew origin to Brahmins. He derives the word "Brahma" from "Abraham" and "Yahava," which is said to occur several times in the Rigveda, from the word "Jehovah." And what appears to the essayist a decisive proof in support of his view, is the supposed contact of the Asiatic Aryans with the Assyrians at some remote period in prehistoric times. The Assyrians being supposed to have carried away a large number of the Israelites into captivity, Mr. Venkataratnam thinks that the latter must have given to the Asiatic Aryans, through the Assyrians, their ideas, words aud institutions.

There may be difficulties in the way of accepting the Brahmins as descendants of the late Hebrews, of a time subsequent to Moses, but the earlier Hebrews, and Abraham of a certainty, belonged to the same stock which sent out Eastern offshoots to India and Western branches to Europe, Armenia and Babylonia and Chaldea being the meeting point of all; and if we go still earlier than Abraham, to the Tower of Babel, we come on the one young and growing family. It may be well supposed that there was at first free intercourse and brothership maintained between the leading Indians, Assyrian astrologers, Babylonian and Parsi Magi, Egyptian priests, and Hebrew sages, on-lookers of the "Star" of Jacob with Balaam, the Day-Star which was to appear, and which, and whose Earthly Career and Work, were embodied and set forth in eternal and world-wide starry blazon in the Constellations of the Zodiac (of the heavens) at a time when there were no written characters—probably taught thus by the angels themselves to Adam. In connection with this, Dr. Bühler's deservedly great name may be adduced as having shown that the *English Alphabet*, the Indian *kakhaga*, and the Hebrew *aleph beth* all go back to a common origin in Northern Arabia. In a paper of his each letter, as it occurs in the old inscriptions of Asoka, has been traced back to its original in the Moabite stone, and the archaic inscriptions of Phœnicia. A comparative table of the various alphabets appended to his paper sets the matter at rest for ever. We may add, however, that Professor Bühler's research came subsequent to Blochmann's, and Blochman was Secretary to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, before whom a summary of the paper we referred to in our last, on the "Unity of Alphabetical Writing," was read by its author. We had, not, at that time, to controvert the views held by our contributor Dr. Cust—see his opening article in this number—in regard to the date and the origin of our Alphabet—the testimony we have referred to in a *note* to that paper, of the Powers, Principles, or "Angels" of the Universe being embodied by

Moses in the Pentateuch Alphabet in the *Cabbala*, *i.e.*, in the "Word of God" (*of St. John's Gospel and Revelation*), and "The Word" in them, but it was not necessary. In these necessarily cryptic references, we wish to throw as it were a flash (only) into a mine of the purest gold full of riches untold before which Aladdin's famous Treasure of Diamonds and Rubies sinks into insignificance—indeed, of which Aladdin's story is an Oriental and popular setting.

Pundit S. M. Natesa Sastriar has published a translation of the six first chapters of *Raghuvansa* in Tamil; and A. Swadesamitran has brought out, in the same language, a book of "Curtain Lectures," well-written and humourous, giving an insight into native domestic life. An English translation of this might take well. Mr. Nizam-uddin Hussan, a Judge of the High Court of Hyderabad, has employed his leisure—*we* envy his leisure—in studying the history and origin of our ordinary punctuation marks, and has both written a pamphlet on the subject, and contributed an article on it to the (English) "Indian Magazine and Review." From his own showing in the latter (he does not perceive it) he is on the wrong track in ascribing these marks to an Arabic origin in Spain in the Middle Ages. As for the marks being turned from right to left, let us say that the marks were not turned at all either way in ages much earlier than Arabic literature,—and the marks were existent then,—but pointed straight up and down, or square or otherwise. His theory may be patriotic, but is quite untenable. We regret we have no space or time to show it fully. Mrs. Montague Turnbull has contributed some reminiscences in a late *Chambers' Journal* of the Calcutta Volunteers raised during the early days of the Mutiny, her husband, Major Turnbull, being the commandant of the cavalry portion of the force. Old times and persons are vividly brought to our memory by her; among the latter being one of the editors of the *Calcutta Review* General (then Colonel) Malleson—also one of the authors of the "Rulers of India" series, the *Indian Mutiny* and other works; and General (then Major) Nassau Lees, often a coadjutor and fellow-worker with ourselves in literary and other lines. Among other varied work that Nassau Lees—he afterwards owned and edited the *Times of India*—did, he was a joint-editor of the *Bengal Sporting Magazine* with Lord Ulick Browne and Major Turnbull. We never again expect to see the like in India of the large, talented, able, cultured, and even highly-placed literary talent, in every branch of work and journalism that adorned the country in those grand old days, and shed a lustre over the Services, even though we have men like Risley and Buckland with us—worthy successors these, but labouring under mountains of red-tape and reports, and choked by "officialism," all which were absent then, and

the greater praise therefore to these. Lord Curzon's example, in the highest place, ought, however, to tell in some measure, even though "competition-wallas" be nowhere compared with the Haileyburians. Indeed, the question has often seriously occurred to us—has our modern race of Englishmen, who come out to India (and even who stay at home) degenerated? Let us, however, revert, after just this quotation from the *Indian Daily News*:—

> "The cultivation of Persian, Urdu, and Sanscrit among Indian Civilians is not carried on so seriously as it might be. The great Warren Hastings thought and the present Government thinks, such studies of high importance, and he was, and it is, no doubt right. Perhaps, a modification of the time restrictions by Government would have a good effect. At any rate, we hope that some means may be devised to encourage all Government officers to devote a portion of their leisure to improving their knowledge of the classical Oriental languages. Vernacular is all very well, but the classics should not be neglected."

The Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library began its existence as early as 1828 with only 531 volumes out of the well-known Mackenzie collections sent to this Presidency by the Government of India and preserved as part of the Old College Library. Though this institution costs the Madras Government comparatively little to maintain it in a state of efficiency, it serves a very useful purpose. The Library has been added to largely from time to time by the local Government, with the result that at present it has 11,054 volumes. Of these 10,920 relate to Sanscrit manuscripts, 2,858 to Telugu, 1,203 Tamil, 1,072 Canarese, 80 Malayalam, 343 Marathi, 33 Uriya, 164 Arabic, 610 Persian, 58 Hindustani; and a miscellaneous collection of 198 consists of Japanese, Singhalese, etc. The Report for the year 1900-1901 shows that during the year 105 manuscripts have been obtained; 59 out of these are Sanscrit and comprise the fields of Drama, Language, Philosophy, Politics including Morality, Religion, Vedic literature and Mythology. The Library was resorted to by 1,641 visitors, of whom 806 have been classed as readers and 819 as copyists; the corresponding figures for the previous year being 660 readers and 870 copyists. These visitors copied 699 manuscripts and read 591. The largest number of manuscripts read and copied relate to Poetry and next in order comes Medicine. Besides the visitors, scholars like Mr. P. C. Ray of Calcutta, Mr. K. P. Trivedi, Mr. P. Cordier and Mr. Pandi Doraisami Tevor of Madura applied to the Curator for copies of rare manuscripts which were furnished them at their own cost. The Director of Public Instruction records the valuable services rendered by the late Professor Seshagiri Sastriar, M.A., who held the office of Curator with credit for eight years, during which period 2,136 manuscripts were acquired for the Library.

At the instance of the late Max Müller's friends in England, a Sub-Committee has been formed by the Bengal Asiatic Society to collect subscriptions for a bust to be placed in the Bodleian Library, and for the promotion of learning and research in all matters relating to the history and archæology, the languages, literatures and religions of ancient India. The Sub-Committee consists of the Hon'ble Mr. C. W. Bolton, Mr. Justice Gurudas Banerjee, Mr. A Pedler, Mr. K. G. Gupta, Major A. Alcock, Mr. C. R. Wilson, Mr. Haraprasad Shastri and Mr. T. Bloch, as Secretary. We also notice H. H. the Gaekwar's name as among others approving of the movement.

We give Mr. Syed Ali Bilgrami of Hyderabad the following free advertisement. His library of 5,800 volumes is for sale for Rs. 40,000. The collection comprises 793 works referring to Sanskrit language and literature; 275 old Persian, Pali and Singhalese works; 933 Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Russian and German works; 1,353 in English relating to biography, history and general literature, and about 1,426 works on various scientific subjects, including books of reference and scientific periodicals. There are in addition over 1,000 volumes MSS. and printed, in the Arabic, Persian and Islamic languages embracing every period and subject.

Our old friend of the Doveton College, Mr. J. W. McCrindle, has come out with a further and final instalment of *Ancient India*—a compilation of the references to the country contained in Greek and Latin literature, and is a continuation of his translations of Megasthenes, Arrian, and the Periplus, published upwards of twenty years ago. With Mr. McCrindle's published translations of Ktesias and Ptolemy's Geography of India, this present volume exhausts the field which he set himself to explore and he has done a valuable service to students.

Dr. Stein has returned to his duties in the Punjab after finishing his work at home, with regard to which he has stated that:—

"A full investigation of the sculpture, fresco painting, objects of industrial art, and seals, etc., which were dug out of the temples, and dwelling houses of sand-buried sites will help us to resuscitate the civilisation of a region which has played an important part in history as the link between ancient China, India, and the classical West. Now for the first time have been brought to light some aspects of the every-day life, the home industries, and arts of the inhabitants of the villages and settlements of Chinese Turkestan which were abandoned in the early centuries after the beginning of the Christian Era, and have since been buried under moving sand dunes. As showing the extent to which the desert has advanced, I may say that some of the settlements I excavated are situated fully a hundred miles beyond the edge of the present cultivated area.

No doubt can be entertained that the inhabitants of these places were in possession of a culture mainly derived from India, and that they were Buddhists. My excavations go to prove that their culture

was highly advanced, and that the art influences of Greece and Rome were felt even at that great distance from the centres of classical culture. Khotan is, I should say, about half way between Peking and Western Europe. Possibly the most striking excavations I made were at a site in the heart of the desert, north of Niya, where one settlement was exposed, covering with its scattered dwellings and shrines an area of about six miles by four. Until digging began all that was visible were weird-looking rows of bleached timber pieces projecting in various places like the framework of a wrecked ship from between the sand dunes.

Of special interest were the refuse-heaps which we unearthed near some ruined houses, once apparently tenanted by village officials—kinds of 'waste paper' baskets, containing hundreds of documents, beautifully written on wooden tablets, and carefully tied and sealed. Owing to the preservative nature of the sand, many of these were in splendid condition—the ink as black, and seals and string as perfect, as if they were only a few weeks old. As these documents are in a known Indian script, their decipherment can be expected to reveal in a fascinating manner many of the details of the ancient village life. But it will be a task requiring years of close study, as in India itself the materials available of this early script have so far been very scanty.

Round most of the sand-buried houses were brought to light carefully-planned little gardens, with avenues of trees, fenced lanes, orchards, and so forth. It was truly astonishing on clearing away the sand to find under the shrivelled hedges heaps of dried leaves, just as they had fallen in ages gone by. The gardens were much the same in character as those still to be found in Turkestan to-day. The trees were mostly poplars and peach, mulberry, and apricot trees. There is no evidence that these places were abandoned owing to any sudden catastrophe, but their gradual desertion was evidently due to the impossibility of continued irrigation causing an advance of the sand.

In the ruined temples we found a sort of unintentional exhibition of the fabrics of these remote ages—for in front of some of the idols were heaps of torn sheets of elaborately worked silks and other fabrics which had been deposited as votive offerings. In one temple it was curious to note an instance of where a pilgrim, anxious apparently to propitiate as many deities as possible, had torn into portions a Tibetan manuscript, which he had divided among the various idols. These fragments are now once more united under glass panes. Many colossal statues in stucco were unearthed from the monasteries and temples. One of the latter contained in its cloisters over a hundred statues all over life-size. As showing how the customs of to-day were in vogue in the past, it may be noted that my labourers at once recognised an ice-pit which was dug out by dry leaves, which were apparently used then, as now, to protect the ice from the terrible summer heat."

We have previously stated that the existence of these old buried cities is no new discovery, but that they were first put forth by ourselves nearly forty years ago in the then *Friend of India*, after our own return from our early Central Asian travels. Occupied as we were with far more important matters—political as well as astronomical and other scientific, and in times when there was neither a Russian Government anywhere nearer than the Volga, or a Chinese Government existing, but wild and lawless petty chiefs everywhere,—at one

time we had a troop of 150 cutthroat Hunza robbers sent out to waylay us—and we were quite altogether alone, with an enormous lot of cash, precious stones, etc.—[we wonder if "Mr. Curzon" of other days ever travelled under such circumstances, or whether he would have met poor Hayward's (subsequent) fate]—sometimes, too, with a dozen hungry bears round about within a few yards, and sometimes on a melting sliding avalanche—; thus situated and circumstanced, worked to death day and night, and our life every moment endangered, we could not attend to these and other matters of less moment—or even to *the buried cities of gold*. And we are content now, even as we were then, to drop the veil of oblivion on them, and we should not refer to them here, but for Mr. Stein's statements and researches of the present day being brought up and aired as something quite new. Mr. Stein believes that these cities, etc., "were abandoned in the early centuries after the beginning of the Christian era." The local traditions, however, point to their existence even after the Mahomedan era. He also says that "the art influences of Greece and Rome were felt." These foreign "art influences" may be seen in the early temples—Jain and other—see our Critical Notice on the Jain Stupa at Muttra in a following page—even in India, and the Buddhist civilisation that prevailed then connected North India with Khotan. Mr. Stein also says that "there is no evidence that these places were abandoned owing to any sudden catastrophe." This may or may not be so, though the ravages of the earlier Mahomedan conquerors may account for their being swept out of existence—even as Bijaynaggar in South India at a subsequent period—; but the local traditions do point to sudden catastrophes, and as being Mahomedan traditions, are connected with the Koran, Faith, Faqueers, etc.

And here, before we pass on to Scientific matters, let us say how surprised we are at the antiquarian ignorance betrayed by the Viceroy in his speech before the Asiatic Society when he said:—"We have no building in India as old as the Parthenon at Athens; the large majority are young compared with the Coliseum at Rome. All the Norman and the majority of the Gothic Cathedrals of England, and of Western Europe were already erected before the great era of Moslem architecture in India had begun. The Kutub Minar at Delhi, which is the finest early Mahomedan structure in this country, was built within a century of Westminster Hall, in London, which we are far from regarding as an ancient monument." He is evidently in ignorance of the elaborate Jain temple on Mount Aboo which goes to a period near the Christian era. And he knows absolutely nothing of

the far older structures in Delhi, about which it does not suit us to enlighten him. It is a pity he chooses to *pose* as an authority on a subject of which he is totally ignorant—to make statements that rouse our antiquarian ire.

Turning to Science, whether medical, or physical and economical, India is certainly taking a very advanced position. In the former or Medical branch we have not only first-class Bacteriological Research Laboratories, but the Kasauli (Pasteur) Institute is doing excellent work in the treatment of mad dog bites besides the general bacteriological work comprising (1) the preparation of anti-typhoid vaccine; (2) serum diagnosis of typhoid and Malta fevers; (3) diagnosis of malarial fevers, tubercle, leprosy and many other diseases met with in India; at the same time that several medical officers of both services have been instructed in bacteriology and allowed to work in the laboratory.

This Institute should be largely extended. It is capable of producing the various anti-toxins, the value of which every medical scientist knows. It could turn out anti-venene (the cure for snake-bite), which has now to be got from Lille at great cost; anti-diptheritic and anti-tetanic serum, etc.; but funds are needed to provide horses and stables before action can be taken in these directions.

In regard to Dr. Calmette's Anti-venene, its efficacy when fresh, for *cobra*-bites, has been established beyond question; and it is now supplied to numerous hospitals and dispensaries all over India. But the price is prohibitive, and it deteriorates rapidly in the hot weather in the plains. Hence the necessity of our having an anti-venene "manufactory" of our own. Dr. Hanna of Bombay showed in the pages of one of our earlier issues this year, that the antidote does not apply to the poison of Russell's Viper (the *Krait*), but that should not prevent our having a laboratory for it. At the Bombay Research Laboratory Doctors Lamb and Hanna are continuing their researches to standardize the serum with pure cobra venum, and to ascertain the deterioration of the serum through keeping in India. To save space we refer our readers interested in these subjects to the *Lancet* of June 15th last, and to the (reprint) pamphlet we acknowledged in our last issue, which is most interesting reading of the several series of experiments, which, however, have yet to be very considerably extended. It is possible we may find space for these, as an article, in some future number. In regard to Malaria and Mosquitoes, still other *Anopheles* (!), and the delegates to India of the Malaria Committee of the Royal Society and their work, we trust we shall have space in our next issue to say something about them.

Let us now turn to the physical and economic sciences, and

here, too, for want of present space, we must reserve our entire batch of agricultural notes for the next occasion, concluding this section with only our progress in mineralogical matters.

We have a very highly-paid and over-manned "Geological Survey," but so far it has done nothing towards the very reason for its existence—to find out the mineral wealth of the country. We remember a very highly-placed Government Officer once telling us, with reference to a couple of Geological Surveyors who were near about at the time for examination, etc., of that part of the country. "They will have a pleasant shooting time of it" (for six months!); and we have often thought that were the bloated "Department" abolished and in its place, one Geologist appointed to each Government and, under its orders, as is the case in the colonies, where it works, and naturally better, than such an arrangement as ours,—it would be far better. The *Indian Daily News* writes thus of the uselessness of our present officers :—

> "Prospecting is not the *métier* of the true geologist, and we have had so many sad instances of officers of the Geological Survey of India wasting their time and the public money in this direction, that we are surprised to see them kept at such work. Dr. Hatch recently issued a treatise on the Kolar Gold Fields, which was not only superfluous, but absolutely mischievous in its tendency, owing to its inaccuracies of information and fallacies of deduction It has been condemned by the whole Professional Press, and created no end of discontent at Kolar The Kolar Gold Field had been so thoroughly exploited that it was most absurd to send there Dr. Hatch, who was specially engaged to report on the possible occurrence of Gold in Chota Nagpur and Bengal. It was hardly likely that he would meet with any better success in a well-known mining centre than he did in the virgin tract on which he was first let loose. The rest of the sum of the economic enquiries is that it is quite possible there is gold in the Wuntho District of Burma, but that the Wainaad does not hold out much promise. There is no tin to be got in the Panch Mahals, but coal and petroleum may be found in small quantities in Assam. For all the good this information will do investors, the officers of the Department might have been better employed in other directions. But the Director of the Survey is not, after all, so much to blame as the system which gives him control of mining experts They should form a Department by themselves."

And the *Madras Mail* says—sarcastically, of course, as to the under-manning :—

> "The Department is a small one for the large amount of work that it has to do, for it consists of only 21 persons, *viz*, the Director, Mr. C. L. Griesbach, C.I.E., three Superintendents, four Deputy and four Assistant Superintendents, one Palæontologist, three Specialists, an Artist, two Native Sub-Assistants, an Assistant Curator, a Registrar, and the Inspector of Mines But of the specialists employed last year Dr. Hatch has completed his one year's engagement and Mr. G. F. Reader is dead, so that the Department now consists of only 19 persons."

Imagine a score of most highly-paid "Directors," "Superintendents," "Specialists," etc., and their practical value summed up by Government itself in its Resolution on the Report for 1900-01 :—"Explorations for economic purposes have not yielded much of value" [never did!] and "the ability of the Department to undertake such investigations has been strengthened by the addition to its staff of two experts in economic geology." The whole thing is a scanda-

and Mr. Hatch's appointment itself was one. To show the halting nature of the output of minerals in this great, extensive and highly-mineralised empire the official summary of Mineral Production for last year may be quoted by us:—

"Gold is produced mostly in the mines of Mysore, where the annual output now exceeds half a million ounces. From the mines in the Nizam's Territory only a small quantity has been extracted as yet. No account is taken in these tables of the gold produced in parts of Northern India from the washings of river sands; there are no means of stating the quantity statistically, but it is well known that it is entirely insignificant.

The aggregate reported production is 513,266 ounces, the value of which may be taken to represent, at £4 an ounce, about two millions sterling.

PETROLEUM.—The production, which is confined to Burma and Assam, amounted to 38 million gallons in 1900, about 37 million gallons being of Burman production. Although the production has expanded very largely, it is still quite insufficient for the requirements of the Indian market which are met by the importation of some 72 million gallons from the United States and Russia. It may be said, that roughly, of every hundred gallons of petroleum used in India one-third is of local production, two-thirds being imported.

In the case of "gems and semi-precious stones" the most prominent are the rubies and jade of Upper Burma. Among other descriptions of minerals manganese ore, mica, and tin ore are alone of commercial importance. The production of manganese commenced a few years ago, the product being shipped to England. The extraction of mica has been an industry in Bengal for a considerable period, and recently this mineral has been extracted in Madras in some quantity Tin mining has been carried on for many years by Chinese in Lower Burma, but their operations have not indicated any tendency to expand.

Can anything, we ask, be more unsatisfactory? [Plumbago is not even mentioned!] But what can be expected of any "Department," or of the Viceroy's earnest wish to see mineral operations flourish, when Local Governments have it now in their power to quench enterprise? Capitalists cannot wait indefinitely; nor can appeals be constantly lodged with the Viceroy. *We* could, with our practical and extended knowledge of the subject, put the whole matter straight in *one day*. We may, in conclusion, be permitted here to say that our Editor (of the *Calcutta Review*) who is one of the oldest practical geologists and prospectors in Asia, South Africa, Australia, and the East Indian Archipelago has, he believes, discovered Coal in Madras, and that along a Railway Line. He has the samples, but the seam has to be located and explored. The search for coal in Madras has been going on for many years at great cost and been hitherto unsuccessful. We believe firms in Madras will be glad to negotiate with this gentleman if they have not done so already about his discovery.

In regard to Educational matters, the Simla Conference duly met and was presided over by the Viceroy himself, whose opening address was quite a good one. We endorse everything he said except as to the need of an imperial officer of education for all India and Burma. It could not do away with the present provincial Directors; it might even interfere with their action and interest; it would require a measure of capacity which is simply unprocurable; it would very probably

be of little use even for reference to future Viceroys as they might not be of the same style as Lord Curzon, frittering away their thought and time which should be occupied with high political and other administrative matters on a variety of smaller side issues; and as, thus, the appointment would be either mischievous, or purely ornamental, and, of course, it would be highly paid. The tinkering and patching that Lord Curzon recommends,—instead of a complete wiping out of the whole mistaken system,—however, is so diversely viewed, that before anything further is attempted, a Commission is to visit the various Indian Universities, beginning with Madras, to make further and more particular enquiries. The Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh will preside. We may predict that the total result of all this peculiarly Curzonian action, talk, gas and *rumpus*, will be little or nothing—except the creation of the aforesaid mischievous or purely ornamental, and highly-paid, appointment—, and that English education, or education in English, will never effect the concrete life of the Oriental nations comprised in India, but rather intensify the evils we already see. The Madras Mahomedans are rising up to the occasion and meeting the times, and have begun Educational Conferences of their own, with much promise of doing something for themselves. And yet we think the Arabic *Nudwa* movement of India contains more the germs of true educational progress and enlightenment than all the Mahomedan-English Colleges that can be established.

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We notice in Sir Antony McDonnell's farewell visit to the M. A. O. College at Aligurh, he carefully avoided the mistake of attributing the origin of the Institution to Sir Syed Ahmed, a mistake he along with others, used to perpetrate before. We have not space at present to set forth all the facts, and as to whom the Aligurh College really owes its existence—we may even add to whom Sir Syed owed his own position—but we may just say that it was conceived and carried through to its very details by a European gentleman and editor of influence in those days; that all the proofs of it are existing and handy; that these proofs were at the disposal of the *Indian Daily News* some ten or twelve years back; that the *Lucknow Advocate* previous to that, when Sir Syed Ahmed was alive, gave a summary of the real facts, the editor of that paper himself calling on the Moulvi to deny them and they were not denied; and that the College from being a centre of intellectual elevation, as it was intended to be for the Mahomedans of North India has been converted into a mere institution for turning out Muslim lawyers and under-officials. It is possible that we may, in some future issue, have space to reproduce the paper of the *Lucknow Advocate* referred to above. In fine, Sir Syed Ahmed had not two ideas to rub

one against another, except what went for his own—well, promotion—and the Mahomedans owe their College to a *Christian* gentleman. And here, in conclusion, it is betraying no confidence to say that the same *Christian* gentleman tried hard to create a similar Native College for Hindus (on lines since taken up by Mrs. Besant), either at Doomraon or at Benares when the late very progressive and very able Dewan Jai Perkash Lal, C.I.E., Rai Bahadoor, was alive—only poor Jai Perkash was then already failing in health and shortly after he was carried off.

RELIGIOUS MATTERS.—We are almost glad to write that we have not much here to engage our attention this quarter. Dr. Welldon has, it seems, not improved in health, and his return has been deferred, and is even doubtful. He has, however, (vicariously) read some very able papers before some Church Congresses. As we wrote once before, we cannot agree with some of his ideas; and we do think that if he, too, spoke less and less propounded theories, he would do well. We have no space here to controvert some of his mistakes. The Bishop of Madras has wisely done in no more elaborating mere correct essays for public speeches. The Bishop of Bombay continues in England, and has almost caught the contagion of mixing up debateable matters with political reference with "feeding My sheep and My lambs." It was *this*, however, that made Bishop Wilson, whom we knew and remember perfectly, so great and so universally loved, and which enabled him to do the work of all the ten or twelve Bishops of the present from Lahore to Ceylon and Singapore. A very fine likeness of this greatest of Indian Bishops adorns the *Englishman* Office. The Government of India has decided to offer the Presbyterian and Wesleyan bodies in India grants-in-aid towards the construction of their own churches in cantonments, instead of erecting Government churches. The latest Wesleyan Pastoral states:—

> "During the century just closed Christianity has been the object of fierce, prolonged and many-sided attacks. Criticism, armed with wide and brilliant scholarship, has assailed the scriptures and its doctrines. So vigorous was the attack that the stoutest hearts sometimes trembled for the safety of the Ark of God; but, as the day of battle wore on, it became more and more clear that the foundation of God standeth sure. From the furnace of historical criticism into which it had been cast, the New Testament has come loosed from the thongs of tradition (?) made ready for a wider service, (?) and more confident appeal by the witness of fire to its proof. Slowly, yet surely, the harvest of Materialism is ripening. Good men are filled with dismay at the prospect. With the obscuration of the heavenly vision, superstition takes the place of faith; priestcraft begins again to exercise a baneful influence; religion degenerates into ritual; conscience is lulled to sleep. Upon the people a strange lethargy has fallen; men hesitate to face vital and moral issues and fear to grapple with a grave, moral problem. The one pursuit that in the eyes of men of this generation justifies effort is the quest of riches."

MISCELLANEOUS.—Among these we may view those of imperial moment first. It has been stated that the Viceroy will take in hand the Victoria Memorial as soon as he returns from Burma. From his long shooting excursions, as well as jungle marches, and his taking up these matters of memorials and the like, one may almost conceive that the reproach cast on him by some one that he has very little to do or more serious matters to attend to, is justifiable. But whether so or not, the above entertained idea of his turning again at once to the subject of a memorial (which he has done his best to make ridiculous) on his return after an absence of a month and a half, as if there was nothing of more moment to attend to, shows that people in India are viewing him in the light of a second, and miniature edition of the Kaiser who can embrace the Sultan of Turkey one day, wire to Kruger the next, hobnob with Prince Chun the third day, preach a sermon on the Sunday (which intervenes), and on the Monday following, try to dictate to the Municipal Council of Berlin on Art matters. Indeed, the likeness may almost be deemed to be complete. It is a likeness, however, which in no way tells in his favour, and we would rather commend to him the example—if he cannot emulate that of Lord Dufferin—of the late Viceroy, Lord Elgin, whose quiet and unbelauded services obtained for him the Garter from such a wise discerner of men as our late great and good Queen. Assuming that the Viceroy has not been converted to a reasonable view of the Memorial,—that it should be an appropriate and unique production of Art—of more value than all rubbishy collections—he can get an idea of the Bengali controversies that will rage over the placing of the busts of eminent and noted Indians from some notes we see in *New India*, about the action already taken about Historic (!) Sites. When Vidyasagar and Raja Ram Mohun Roy are to have tablets put up to their houses, we find the paper saying such names as Debendernath Tagore, Raja Radhakant Deb, and even K. M. Banerji, and Kristo Das Pal and others "ought all to be marked out by these memorial tablets!" In short, the placing, or misplacing, of the busts will raise an utterly contemptible, but not the less furious fight all over India, from Bombay to Burma, and the result will be that no one else save the Viceroy himself will be satisfied. Probably he has, according to wont, already a list of those he intends thus to honor made out, of whom, without seeing it, we may say that half the names are misplaced!

These smaller (as well as weightier) matters, however, sit lightly on him just at present. He is making his long "jungle-marches," and has been having high times of it speechifying to his heart's content to the tea-planters of Silchar, as well as

in Manipur, also fishing and shooting. To the planters he is honest enough—and he always is—to confess he may have made mistakes—"I dare say that one makes many mistakes. If I were in a quiet corner with you instead of on a public platform, I might tell you a few of them myself—(laughter)." In Manipur he gives his reason for making (enjoying) these glorious "jungle-marches" to a public that is surprised at his selfishness in this respect:—"I have always found it difficult clearly to understand any public question, until I have visited the locality and seen the inhabitants myself, and conversed with the local authorities on the spot." This is a very extraordinary reason. In that case very little business, political or other, would ever be transacted in this world. And what of enlightenment, we may also ask, can a mere passing visit give? And, in regard to the jungle tracts—the Viceroy considers them "magnificent mountain scenery"—of Manipur and North-Western Burma, what important "public question"—surely not one of the "twelve or fifteen"—is connected with them? The real and true reason, however, of his "perpetual motion" is one that is probably hid from himself, or that he would not like to confess. Why did he go once to Siam, where some of our old friends met him and described him? As regards the Looshais brought to dance before him, we trust they were decently clad. We remember seeing them some sixty years ago, and then all the clothes they wore was a strip tied over their chest! [There would be no such objection to measuring them for Ethnographic purposes as would probably be raised by well-born Aryan Brahmins, male and female, in Bengal or North India, or possibly even in South India.] Finally, in the matter of high and glorified personages (including naked Looshai chiefs), "three well-known 'Nawabs' of Patna" have been starring it—receiving public ovations and the like—in the ancient and sacred city of Meshed in Persia, like veritable Nawabs!—"princes," according to Durbhunga's and Cooch Behar's interpretation. One of the three called himself "Nawab Badshah!" and another "Chota Nawab of Patna!" We believe, however, they were not unduly proud of their *honorary* titles. This is a matter connected with the use and signification of titles to which we propose in future to draw fuller attention, and about which the *Pioneer* lately wrote:—"He (Durbhunga) is scarcely the natural spokesman of the Indian aristocracy. The term Prince as applied now-a-days to Indian noblemen is a loose popular expression that means nothing. In the English sense it could only be properly used of the scions of the Royal houses of Delhi and Oudh; but if it signifies anything at all, it must imply membership of a family which possess ruling rights, if not royalty. Even with this extended application the title, of course, cannot be supposed

to take in members of the landed gentry like the Maharajah of Durbhunga."

With reference to a Government Central Bank for India, Lord George Hamilton has replied :—"You have come reluctantly to the conclusion that circumstances are unfavourable to the policy of pressing on the centralisation scheme at the present time. This opinion, I consider myself, bound to accept; but I agree with Your Excellency that it will be distinctly advisable, as soon as may be practicable, to establish a Central Bank in India for the reasons given in your letter, and in Sir Edward Law's able minute, and I request that this object may be kept in view, and that the scheme may be revised whenever there is a probability of its being successfully carried out."

In the matter of Mint operations for the past year the silver coinage amounted to 1,726 lakhs of rupees, and was the highest on record. There was great pressure, and to meet the demand, silver had, on several occasions, to be bought in India, though the Mints were mainly fed by silver bought in England. The most important of conversion operations of the year was that of Babashahi coinage undertaken for the Baroda State. The total revenue amounted to 475 lakhs; and the expenditure to 23 lakhs. The net profit has been transferred to the credit of the gold reserve of the Government of India. No gold was coined, but the tenders at the Mints exceeded eight crores in value.

The plague, which is now gaining a foothold all over the world, has again made itself prominent in Bombay, though in Calcutta it seems to have almost disappeared. The Health Officer of Calcutta says of it that it is a disease only slightly, if at all, directly contagious. A plague-infected room can be rendered safe for immediate occupation by disinfection, but this will not prevent the recurrence probably twelve months afterwards. Rats, he asserts, have practically no concern in the spread of plague. Only one cooly engaged in disinfection work contracted plague and died. Dr. Deane is no doubt a great comforter, but still people will believe this "bubonic fever" to be highly contagious, and rats to be very mischievous in carrying it about. If Mr. Gumpel is to be believed, common salt may possess here some efficacy as in cholera. His "Appeal" (see elsewhere), however, should be met by Government in a perfectly practicable and legitimate way, that is, by giving us a return—statistics are all in existence—for the purpose showing the percentages of endemic and zymotic diseases, side by side with the annual consumption of salt per head of the population in each District of India, and these figures might lead to further and more searching investigations. The general health of the people is not a matter to be pooh! poohed! at any time, and if it can be

proved that a more liberal use of salt will conduce to a greater standard of good health and to the eradication of plague and cholera, the remedy is a cheap one and always at hand. Finally, in matters of the Supreme Government, Mr. Jesse's (of Lucknow) efforts to save bird-life in India have been warmly taken up by the Viceroy. We trust Local Governments, and indeed every District Officer and every human being of any position and note, will co-operate in this most excellent and meritorious work. We again defer the letter on the numerous sins of our Indian Railways and have also to put aside a communication received on our Dâk Bungalows.

In miscellaneous matters relating to Bengal in particular we note that Mr. Pennell has, as we anticipated, been dismissed the service by the Secretary of State. The Government of Bengal wrote an exhaustive report on his case and the Supreme Government wrote another, but Lord George Hamilton was curt. Whatever may be Mr. Pennell's rights or wrongs, merits or demerits, he could not expect any other termination. He is still writing away, giving the keenest cuts to his maligners; and if he only would collect the whole literature on the subject in one volume, it would sell better in India—even on the Railway bookstalls—than any even of Marie Corelli's works. One thing, however, this extraordinary affair has discovered to the public—the great grasp of *mental analysis* possessed by Sir John Woodburn (or is it Mr. Buckland?) There is a species of mental disease described as "malignant vanity," which is new and not to be found in any even medical book; and will now go down in literature and mental and medical science to posterity, and probably even find a place as a quotation in Imperial and other Dictionaries. The true author of the phrase, therefore, should be known. (It might be Mr. Justice Stamped, suggests the "P. D") Again we ask, "cannot the whole thing be made up in some way or other?" To lose Mr. Pennell to India would be irreparable. As Government Tutor to some "Prince" Ranjit of Baluchistan on say, Rs. 3,000 per mensem, he might yet give a healthy shake-up occasionally to the Vicaroy, if not to his Secretaries, or as a barrister, he may yet sit on the High Court Bench! We turn from this very interesting, but sad, case to an appeal to the Viceroy made by a very hard-worked, important, and deserving body of officials—those working in the Calcutta Customs. It seems that 25 per cent. of their overtime is docked. Surely they are poorly enough paid as it is, and it is merciless to reduce them further. It is reported that this has been done to add to the income of those higher placed—which is barely credible. "Can such things be and overcome us as a," etc.? The Administrator-General of Bengal, whose income from fees has been simply fabulous, retires next January, and gives

place to a paid official on an adequate salary. But in regard to the many grievous abuses connected with the post, we think an Annual Report or Statement of all Estates, etc., and work done, should be published for the benefit of the public. The accounts should also be audited by competent authority. Candidates are wanted for the post. May we be permitted to recommend Mr. Fennell for it if he will accept it?

The troubles of the British Indian Association are not yet over—indeed, with the election of the Maharajah of Durbhunga they seem to have become more acute. The troubles extend in so many directions, and are so diverse, that there must be some deep-seated malady, the true nature of which has not yet been diagnosed. First of all, the "organ" of the Association has not been its organ for a long while, the Editor himself having no connection with the Association, and not only that, but being out of Bengal in another post and delegating his work to another employed by him! Then it is asserted that Maharajah Jotendro Mohun Tagore wishes to have it all his own way in the Association, which we cannot believe for several reasons. Then the new body led by Mymensing, Dighapatia, Nattore and others, have, it is said, an enormous following, and evidently they refuse to amalgamate. Finally, at one time Raja Peary Mohun is President, at another Durbhunga, and both resign, and both are again re-elected, but who is who, or who is where, seems very uncertain and doubtful, and so far nobody seems to be anywhere —not even the Association itself! We do think matters would be simplified by the Maharajah of Durbhunga retiring from the scene; and we really do not see what place he has in a *Bengal* Association. As a Behar landholder he should rightly be kept to his own province. (But perhaps he is ambitious.) We believe this, and an Eastern Bengal Association would solve much of the trouble, and involve no loss of any kind, to the older Association. At the same time, the matter of the *Hindoo Patriot* should be put on a proper footing. Who is the offender here? To outward appearance Raja Peary Mohun has been too kind, generous, and yielding in the matter of his Presidentship.

The following are the subjects proposed to be discussed at the forthcoming meeting of the Indian Congress in Calcutta:—(*a*) The economic condition of the country and the desirability of moving the Government to cause an Industrial Survey with a view to developing and improving the existing industries and manufactures and introducing new ones; also the expediency of sending selected Indians abroad to learn new arts and industries. (*b*) The Land Revenue policy of the Government, with special reference to recent agrarian legislation in Bombay. (*c*) The Report of the Famine

Commission. (*d*) The admission of qualified Indians to the Commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. (*e*) Trial by Jury. There will also be an Industrial Exhibition in connection with the Congress, the Corporation having granted permission to use Beadon Square for the purpose. A great effort to make the Mahomedans as a body join the Congress has failed. Mr. Morrison of Aligurh—not Mr. McLaren Morrison—thinks the Mahomedans ought to have their separate Congress (if they are to have one), but that would be a very grave political mistake even for the Government of the country—a going backward of progress and much more for anything effective for the true voicing of India. Finally, as connected with an old leading Calcutta resident, we note that our very good old friend General Sir H. E. L. Thuillier, R. A., who retired in 1881 after half a century's service as Surveyor-General of India, and who must be over 90 years of age, was present at the last Club dinner of old Addiscombe Cadets. Sir Federick Halliday, 95 years of age, has died since we last wrote, and him we met on his first appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal half a century ago.

Latest general news as we close. Li Hung Chang, after all, is dead. He was supposed to be the richest man in China. Turkey has climbed down to France. The Germans are indignant at Mr. Chamberlain's aspersions. One journal says he is unfit for public life, and another of "his impudence." Sir Henry Bannerman says that the present Government is a piece out of the opera bouffe; and Mr. Morley says that to leave the South African War to the soldiers is to imply that we were bankrupt of statesman. (That is just what we ourselves have said.) Mr. Lloyd-George says to call a man a "pro-Boer" is not argument but the "pucca trick of political cockatoos. Mr. Bright had opposed the Crimean War—was he a pro-Russian?" Sir William Harcourt declares the banishment of the Boers and the confiscation of their property to be "unconstitutional and mischievous." A leading French Canadian has been uttering treason in Canada. He made a violent anti-British speech on Sunday at a meeting of a group of young French Canadians, whose avowed political gospel is an independent French nation, apart from Canadian Confederation. This element during the stay of the Royal Party in Canada took every opportunity of expressing its disapproval of the visit. The Archbishop of York calls for a day of Humiliation and Prayer. The Bishop of Hereford has spoken up for the Boers getting better treatment and our great mistake in the "war." The Bishop of Ripon speaks doubtfully of our future. The Dutch are going to boycott British trade. Party allegiance in the House and country are failing, no faith being put in Ministerial assurances. Sir Hicks Beach calls

the war "terrible," and wishes it ended. He sounds the note also of further increased taxation. The Duke of Cornwall has been created Prince of Wales. The public sympathy for Sir Redvers Buller shows no signs of abating, and it has spread from his native country of Devonshire, where the indignation against the Commander-in-Chief and the War Office is furious, to other parts of the country. Lord Roberts had an unpleasant experience at Nottingham yesterday when he presented medals for service in South Africa to some of the Yeomanry. There was much booing from the crowd in the streets and loud cries of "Buller." At the luncheon the cries for "Buller" were renewed, and repeated cheers were given for the dismissed General. At a popular entertainment, attended by about 2,000 persons, a picture of Lord Roberts, thrown on the screen, raised a storm of hissing, groaning and hooting. The next picture, "Buller," was cheered. At a performance of a Panorama at Wimbledon, on Saturday, a portrait of Buller was tempestuously applauded. The picture illustrating the triumphant entry of Lord Roberts into Pretoria was loudly hissed. The Hon. Auberon Herbert, in a letter to the *Times*, doubts if any impartial-minded person can feel Buller's speech, and the penalty are in any true or reasonable apportionment to each other. He says the Government have all the gifts except the supreme gift of sane and true judgment. Sir Edward Grey, from a speech delivered at Glanton, on Saturday, seems inclined to censure Buller's dismissal. The *Army and Navy Gazette* strongly champions Buller. Our obituary list is very small:—Sir Frederick Halliday, Canon Isaac Taylor, and Kate Greenaway (who will live in a heaven of babies of her own, and who has done more for them, and England generally, than any one living).

☞ *Special articles to appear in our next number:—*
The Greeks in India, by L. L. D.
The Modern Monkey Gospel, by Editor.
A Judicial Trial during the Great Mutiny, by C. S.
The Literary Languages of the Empire, by R. N. Cust.
Across the Pelopponesses, by H. R. James.
The Tantra in Rajputana, by Rev. Dr. MacDonald.
European and Hindu Systems of Music.
*The Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal.**
And others under consideration.

THE EDITOR.

* This has been long kept out for want of space.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Life of Claude Martin, Major-General in the Army of the Honourable East India Company. By S. C. Hill, B.A., B.S.C., officer in charge of the Records of the Government of India, Calcutta. Thacker, Spink & Co., 1901.

THIS small work is of great historical interest;—indeed, for depicting the times which it treats of, it is invaluable. Mr. Hill has conferred a real boon to the student of Indian history. General Martin was altogether a very superior character while he lived, and by his numerous splendid bequests has proved one of the greatest benefactors of India to all ages.

The work is excellently got up, with numerous illustrations, in Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co.'s best style. The thousands of students who have passed through the several La Martiniéres in Calcutta, Lucknow, and Marseilles will be glad to possess a copy of this work, of which a French translation should be made—published in Paris.

The Chutney Lyrics.—A collection of comic pieces in verse on Indian subjects. Second edition (reprint). Price, Re. 1. Higginbotham & Co., Madras and Bangalore.

THE following, from the Publishers' Preface, fully explains this enjoyable work, and the brief career of its Author:—

> MR. R. C. CALDWELL, the lamented author of these humourous papers, was the eldest son of Dr. Caldwell, the great Missionary Bishop of Tinnevelly. He was originally intended for the Ministry, and went through a course of Theological study at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. After passing out of College, he returned to India and worked zealously and assiduously in the Mission field in Trichinopoly and Tanjore. For some reasons, perhaps known to himself alone, Mr. Caldwell did not take Orders but elected to become a journalist as being more congenial to his tastes. Mr. Caldwell was known in England as a frequent contributor to the English Journals,—the London *Daily News*, the *Athenæum*, the *Contemporary Review*, the *Illustrated London News* and even *Punch*. Some Ballads and Songs he had then written were set to music by one of the most popular composers of the day and produced on the stage. His "Chutney Lyrics"—some twelve of which were originally contributed to the *Madras Athenæum and Daily News*,—first prominently brought him to notice in India. On leaving the Mission Mr. Caldwell took up for a short time the co-editorship of the *Madras Times* and then transferred his services to the *Athenæum* and *Daily News* of which he was for a short period sole editor. He conducted the latter journal most successfully, but the general complaint

against him was too much personality in his writings. His weekly "*Chit Chat*" gave offence to not a few though all willingly conceded that these papers afforded much amusement and effected considerable good in exposing many of the evils that then existed in Madras. Mr. Caldwell was subsequently employed by the Newspaper press of the Bombay and Bengal Presidencies and by the wit and humour of his writings gained extensive popularity. He died in harness in April or May 1878.

We reproduce "Chutney Lyrics" with the eight other comic pieces published in 1871 as their popularity has not diminished and they are frequently enquired for. We trust that this present edition will meet with a renewal of the favor so readily accorded to the previous edition.

The Journal of Mrs. Fenton, A Narrative of her Life in India, the Isle of France (Mauritius) and Tasmania during the years 1826-1830, with a preface by Sir Henry W. Lawrence, Bart., London: Edward Arnold, Publisher to the India Office, 1901.

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE—we love to recall the name—has, in this "Journal of Mrs. Fenton," furnished the most charming book of the day, as describing the India of a long gone past—a past that we remember vividly and distinctly, with even some of the people that moved in it, and who are mentioned in these pages. People now-a-days, so very far have they sunk below the level of those who lived and moved in India three generations ago, or even two generations ago, and judging of things by themselves and what they see around them, will not believe that there was only one society then, that social manners were of the highest and carried a charm not to be seen in the present; and that there was culture and refinement united with cordiality everywhere. It is good for us that we passed some portion of our, but too brief and yet prolonged, life in those times and with those men and women, for their like shall never again be seen on this earth wherever it be, and we have been over the globe pretty far and wide and know how things have altered. The "kindly manners, gentle laws" that the poet looks forward to in a future time, were actually then existent and belong to the past—the future we are afraid will never produce, or reproduce, them with the mad competition for wealth, the rapid growth and increase of the proletariate, and the birth of new and unholy ideals. Man would even try to dethrone GOD in His Own Fair and Beautiful and Orderly World, but we who write these lines, have Believed in Him, and yet do Believe, and we shall see what we shall see, but we shall see nothing that shall surprise us, or shake us. A truce, however, to such reflections, and let us turn to the "Journal of Mrs Fenton." "Mrs. Fenton," thought we, "why we are familiar with the name—where could it be we came across the Fentons?" After a while it came back to us that we came across the name in Tasmania, where we were near neighbours, and often met each other. "Are these the same?" was our next query;

and on turning over the pages, we found they were the very same! Mrs. Fenton, of this "Journal," was a Miss Knox, and nearly related to the great Lawrences of Indian History, Sir George Lawrence, Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence being her first cousins. Her first husband was a military officer of the name of Campbell with whom she came out to India in 1826. She enjoyed a but too brief, ideally happy, married life. It was during this time, from India, that she wrote those letters home to a dear friend, which bring back old India to us. Dinapore then was the largest Military Station in India, and it used to be gay with balls and parties. She specially mentions meeting there a Mr. Blackwell, "a very fine young man," a son of General Blackwell, and it was our lot some years after to make the acquaintance of this same "Mr. Blackwell," grey and elderly and yet with traces of his fine countenance and eyes which drew Mrs. Campbell's attention. Then, after her husband's death, she became the recipient of Sir Charles and Lady D'Oyley's kindness and hospitality, and we knew people who knew the D'Oyleys. Mrs. Campbell mentions Sir Charles' devotion to "art," and we may add that during his sojourn in Old Dacca (now gone!) he got up a magnificent folio volume—we forget if it was printed by the East India Company or by himself—full of the most splendid and accurate Art-engravings of places of historical interest in and near Dacca. She went from Dinapore to Bishop's College, the then splendid pile of buildings on the Hooghly near the Botanical Gardens, and became the guest there of the very learned Principal Rev. Dr. Mill (and Mrs. Mill)—who afterwards had the Regius Chair of Hebrew at Cambridge, and who wrote works on Pantheism, and also in Sanscrit which are unapproached to the present day—herein, too, recalling our own happy memories of an always welcome guest with the following equally learned Principal the Rev. Dr. Kay,—who afterward represented the Convocation of the Church of England in the Revised Translation of the Bible, an intimate College and personal friend of Lord Canning. It was from Bishop's College that the young widow married Captain Fenton, whom she had met at Dinapore, and becoming Mrs. Fenton, left for the Mauritius and then Tasmania. In Tasmania she settled in the most pleasant corner of the island, on Emu Bay, and it was here we came on "the Fentons" that is, her family by Captain Fenton. This "Journal," thus, has touched us with the deepest personal interest, and woke the happiest memories, from the beginning; and we may even go back also to the North of Ireland whence Miss Knox came, where we should have been now instead of having wandered far and wide "the Pilgrim of Love"—but that is a "hidden page" of our life-story which we must pass over. Hence our special obligations to Sir Henry Lawrence which we, now writing in the *Calcutta Review*—

to which his distinguished Father contributed so much in those older days;—acknowledge in these pages. It is all a chain of marvel—very like a dream—and yet a real dream, a living life, that is, true life. Verily, "man shall not LIVE by bread alone, but, by every Word that proceedeth out of the mouth of GOD."*

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1. *Common Salt; its Use and Necessity for the Maintenance of Health and the Prevention of Disease.* By C. Godfrey Gümpel. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, Ltd., Paternoster Square. 1898. Price five shillings.

2. *On the Natural Immunity against Cholera, and the Prevention of this and other Allied Diseases by simple Physiological means.* By C. Godfrey Gümpel. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.

3. *The Prevention of Epidemic Zymotic Diseases in India and the Tropics Generally.* By C. Godfrey Gümpel. London: Watts & Co., 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E. C. 1901.

4. *The Plague in India, an Impeachment and an Appeal.* By C. Godfrey Gümpel. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Calcutta and Bombay: Thacker, Spink and Co. 1899.

THE first and second of these works were published some while ago, the other two lately. Mr. Gümpel is a man of means, and a man with a "mission," and the conjunction of the two make him peculiarly dangerous. But his "mission" is to plead for salt—common salt! The *Scotsman* says with reference to the first:—"It deserves to be read and weighed up by the medical profession; and a lay-reader could scarcely study it without deriving from it much good instruction in the principles of health." The *Lancet* (March 30th, 1895) says of the second of the above works:—"This is a learned, and at the same time curious pamphlet. It is learned in that its author shows that he is well acquainted with the literature of the subject and with all the latest researches that have been made in regard to it, and curious in that it sets forth an extremely simple view and remedy. Briefly stated, the author's views amount to this:—The *rôle* of disease is in the blood, the real cause of death is attributable to the destruction of the blood-corpuscles, &c., &c., ... We do not at all desire to prejudice the reader by thus curtly expressing the aim and object of this pamphlet. We are persuaded that the author has convinced himself of the truth of the view he advocates, and about which he has written this little treatise, which, apart altogether from the practical point he seeks to prove, is worth reading on account of the nature and variety of the information

* The semi-personal character of the above "Notice" will be excused the writer under the circumstances.—ED., *C. R.*

which it contains. . . . . The literary part of the pamphlet and that which deals with destructive criticisms are interesting; it is the constructive part that seems to us weak. To examine and criticise it would take up more space than we can give. Those who care to do so can read it through in a couple of hours, and if they ever have the opportunity and desire to try the prophylactic virtues of the small dose of sodium-chloride recommended, they can, at any rate, easily do so without any injury to themselves or anybody else."

The third work we have read carefully over, and much the same remarks (as above) would apply to it. Both this and the fourth work cut very much against the serum-injection theory for the Plague. The last work also concludes with an "Appeal" to the people of India to form an Association for instituting an experiment as suggested in the above dissertation. The objects of such an Association (similar to those established for the "Open-air Treatment of Tuberculosis") would be :—

(1) To collect the funds for the experiment—estimated at about £500.

(2) To petition the Government for its sanction—if not active support—to obtain a status before the public.

(3) To select the community in which plague or cholera has broken out.

(4) To arrange the superintendence and the details of the experiment.

In this latter—the practical work of the trial—it is expected that intelligent gentlemen of leisure and independence will offer their assistance, considering that the object to be achieved is of unsurpassed and of far-reaching importance for the future of the human race.

In addition to all these, we have an article furnished us, as will be seen in our pages in this issue.

[Somewhat more scientific than all these in regard to the true value of chloride of sodium (salt) in cholera may also be found in an article on "Cholera and Scarlatina—their Cause and Cure" by a "Physician" in our April number.]

The Hon'ble Raja Peary Mohun Mookerji, C.S.I., writing from Calcutta on April 9th this year to Mr. Gumpel, says :—

"We only want people to read your writings. There is no escape from thorough conviction when once the book has been read. Those who have read the book, among whom are gentlemen in high official positions, have become as devoted admirers as myself."

We may conclude this notice by saying that we both knew and read about salt being efficacious in cholera long before Mr. Gümpel published his first book. We could, indeed, give remarkable instances of its efficacy, even in epidemics, when used in time. One of the brightest ornaments of the Indian

Medical Service also told us once, on being asked what he himself should take if attacked by cholera, that it would be "common salt." In passing we may add, that we remember having read in some old number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society that a Missionary in North India (Behar) used to cure *cobra bites* by the application of a quantity of salt tied over the wound. Has this remedy been ever tried by any of our medical men—though now with Dr. Calmette's anti-venin it is not needed. The anti-venine, however, cannot always be had everywhere, nor be used by laymen. Hence, the other might yet be tried. We shall be glad to learn of any experiments.

1. *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad. Part 1. A. D. 1412 to 1520.* With 112 Photographic and Lithographic Plates, by Jas. Burgess, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., &c., &c., &c., late Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India. London: William Greggs & Sons; Bernard Quaritch; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.; Luzac & Co. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. Bombay: Thacker & Co. 1900. Price, 31 shillings 6 pence.
2. *The Jain Stûpa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, by Vincent A. Smith, I.C.S., Fellow of the Allahabad University. Allahabad: Government Press. 1901. Price, Rs. 14-8 (£ 1, 2*s*.)

THE first of the above works is Vol. VII. of the Archæological Survey of Western India, or Vol. XXIV of the New Imperial Series.

The second is Vol. V of the N.-W. P. and Oudh, or Vol. XX of the Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series. Muttra Antiquities.

Why these two so far separated works—odd volumes as we may call them—have been sent to us—(or has the Post Office swallowed up the others?)—we cannot conceive, unless there has been a sudden recrudescence of affection on the part of the authorities towards the *Calcutta Review*, or the particular authors of these two works, have heard something of our own antiquarian *faddism* in bygone ages. However, we have to take things as they come in regard to these matters and not to be too particular.

Generally we may say that there are thirty-two of these volumes of the New Imperial Series already published, and their prices, though prohibitive to the public—who, however, care little for such works—are evidently put to cover a *tithe* of the cost of their production. The undertaking is certainly a grand one—to bring together in one view all the Monumental remains and Art of India from the Earliest Ages. But the *cost*——! The mere material execution must have cost something like from £2,000

to £3,000 each volume, and the professional as well as labour cost even more; altogether something like, probably, a *lakh* of rupees per volume. This is the way in which so much of the hardly-raised revenues of India are spent—on a variety of "fads" of Viceroys and others—gaily spent, and without a word of protest from a "watchful" and "independent" (!) Press. If we put down the sum spent annually on mere ornamental and useless fads—as well as those that are pretentiously useful—as *a crore per annum* we shall not be far out. Our present Viceroy has been particularly remarkable in carrying out such fads, and that notwithstanding famines, plague expenditures, salt and income-taxes, and the starvation of Provincial allotments. But that is not the worst of it, for a good deal of his time and attention, that ought to be bestowed on the means of producing wealth in the country are thus spent in devising and thinking of ways of throwing it away! And—we can all indulge in the most costly and useless extravagance—to gratify mere whims and partial sentiment—when we can do it with others' monies. Let us not, however, wander far off from our notice of these volumes. Some are published in England—and they seem to cost the most,—and others in India through the Survey of India Office at Calcutta. Of course, besides being splendid and costly, they are interesting in a way as showing something of the Past. The effort is a sacrifice offered to Antiquarian, old world sentiment—to the sentiment that dwells in the Past—to an interest born of idleness and, we may add, vanity.

In the first of the above volumes there are thirty-three chapters of valuable historical letter-press. From the Preface we learn that, like the preceding volume on the Mahommedan architecture of the provincial towns of Gujarat, this deals with the Muslim buildings of the capital of that province. But whereas the former treated largely of the remains of the fourteenth century, when the country was under governors appointed by the Emperors of Dehli, the present takes account of the works of the earlier Ahmad Shâhi Sultans of Gujarat, and exclusively of those erected in their capital and its suburbs from the foundation of Ahmedabad in A. D. 1412 to 1520. It has been justly remarked that among the many varieties of the Muhammadan styles prevailing in different provinces of India, that which arose in Western India in the early part of the fifteenth century, is one of the most instructive and deserving of study, as it is also the most beautiful. It bears a markedly local impress, while the elements composing it are of even a better and higher class than are to be found in any part of Upper India or Hindustan proper.

In this volume previous works by Sir Theodore Hope and Mr. James Fergusson, F.R.S., are largely utilised, and only the first century of Ahmedabad work are included. To complet

the view, it is intended hereafter to publish the architecture of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century in another volume.

The second of the above volumes, as going into the distant past, is the more interesting of the two. There is a Map, and 107 Plates, and the work comprises 23 Chapters. Cunningham—whom we implored thirty-five years ago to undertake the exploration of *Old Sunargaon*, but which he durstn't owing to the tigers—and Führer are largely quoted, and Bühler is also utilised. From the Introduction we learn that Dr Bühler took a great deal of interest in these Jain remains. The plates throw light, among other things, on the history of the Indian, or Brâhmî alphabet on the grammar and idiom of the Prâkrit dialects, on the development of Indian Art, on the political and social history of Northern India, and on the history, organisation, and worship of the followers of the Jain religion. The inscriptions are supposed to go to the beginning of the Christian era. India drew largely from foreign sources: Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and Hellenistic traces being shown in these early remains. Indian Art, too, was not sectarian, but Jain, Buddhist and Orthodox Hindus equally availed themselves of the same religious symbols and decorative elements.

The discoveries have to a very large extent supplied corroboration to the written Jain tradition, and they offer tangible incontrovertible proof of the antiquity of the Jain religion, and of its early existence very much in its present form. The series of 24 pontiffs (*Tîrthamkaras*) each with his distinctive emblem was evidently firmly believed in at the beginning of the Christian era. The inscriptions are replete with information as to the organisation of the Jain Church in sections known as *gana*, *kula*, and sâkhâ, and supply excellent illustrations of the Jain books. Both inscriptions and sculptures give interesting details proving the existence of Jain nuns, and the influential position in the Jain Church occupied by women.

A Home Letter on the Calcutta University Question. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1901.

THIS most entertaining "Letter," in 20 pages, is altogether in verse, and not bad verse either. At least they show culture, refinement, and a University training, as well as some sort of humour. The identity of the author is well-known, though he conceals it in this "Letter;"—he is actively engaged in the system of "Education," which he so freely criticises here. He writes well, and much, and well holds up the present system to ridicule, but he does not offer or suggest much in its place. He evidently relies much on Lord Curzon. We cannot do better to show our author's ideas than quote some of his stanzas. This

is how he describes Macaulay's mistaken panacea of English Education :—

Empires and dynasties have come and gone,
Invading hosts across the land have swept,
And still the East has looked impassive on,
Steeped in the languor that of old o'ercrept
Her spirit, like the trance of the adept :
But we will change all that, you need not doubt it ;
And so I'll tell you, how we set about it.

Our panacea's 'English education ;'
At least this label serves to ticket it.
It saves, you see, a lot of explanation
If on a short, convenient phrase we hit,
Whether or not, it's quite precisely fit.
Why should we trouble nicely to distinguish,
Though it's not 'education,' and not 'English ?'

And what it means, with a slap at the present rade of Civilians :—

Besides we've now—there C. . . .n's word for that,
Since his rebuke of those mere scribbling praters,—
A nearly perfect Secretariat ;
And all the world knows our administrators,
Financiers, judges, embryo legislators,
That matchless brotherhood the I. C. S.
Endowed with all the talents—*more or less.*

What's then, you naturally ask, our plan
From living death to rouse the slumbering nations,
To elevate our Aryan fellow man,
And give him healthy tastes and recreations ?
In brief—'tis—*lectures and examinations !*
We unfold the banner, Sir, of all the 'ologies
And found innumerable schools and colleges.

Carrying on the theme, he gets to the University, the Senate and the real "band of unpretending workers" :—

The UNIVERSITY'S our master. *It*
Prescribes our courses, frames our rules, ordains
Our methods, text-books ; settles what is fit ;
Puts on us grievous loads, and never deigns
To lift them ; addles all our wretched brains,
And by its whimsies all our labour doubles :
In fact 'tis the prime cause of all our troubles.

The SENATE is the seat of all authority,
Th' embodiment of a something transcendental
Taking effect as will of the majority,
Designed on a broad plan to represent all
Classes and views. We've made it ornamental
As well as useful. I'll your praise recall
Illustrious Body ! Truly this mends all !

We've rajahs, maharajahs, one nawab,
Even proconsular governors two or three.
Bishops and generals ; our bosoms throb
To mark each C.S.I., K C.I.E. ;
We've Khan Bahadurs, men of high degree ;

We've lawyers—yes, *we've lawyers by the score*
There's only just one thing we might have more;
And that's a band of unpretending workers,
Men who have made of teaching their vocation,
Who toil in college lecture-rooms, no shirkers,
And learn perforce by daily application
To know this thing called 'Indian education'
Its needs, its dangers, faults—all in the way,
Of honest, humdrum drudgery, day by day.

We've some, of course; but they're a trifle lost
Among these stars of higher magnitude,
E'en as the school-boy's 'duff' 's discreetly crost
With frugal plums—I fear my wit is rude,
I'd really like to make it more subdued;
Yet let me add—of bread a painful lack;
And an 'intolerable deal of sack.'

* * * * *

How Indian students meet the demands of the University system is well shown in these verses:—

Notes, problems, text-books, all he puts aside,
Th' accumulated stores of lecture-courses;
In other helps his soul would fain confide;
On other hopes he concentrates the forces
Of mental and pecuniary resources;
With prudent thrift lays out a few rupees
On an assortment of choice SUMMARIES.

To these he pins his faith; from these he stores
His brain anew; for these he 'scorns delights
And lives laborious days;' o'er these he pores;
To these alone he gives his days, his nights;
For these his earlier aspirations slights:
Then primed and stuffed against the destined date
With a good conscience goes to meet his fate.

The "ideal Officer," of Education, is thus sketched:—

Alas! our *teaching* ideals are no better;
Not where we find the departmental taint,
Scorn of the spirit, worship of the letter,
A system of mechanical restraint!
I'll sketch for you, you'll really find him quaint,
And, if I can, without exaggeration,
The ideal OFFICER in education.

A thing it is of precedents and rules
Warranted to run smoothly in a groove,
With something of the temper, whereby mules
Their title to brute obstinacy prove,
A fixed determination not to move
By reason or persuasion. For a mind
A matter of clock-work, rather ill-designed.

A dry and jejune nature: taste and wit
The love of art and science, learning, letters,
All these as superfluities omit;
(What use has *it* for these more than its betters?)
'Twill run more kindly in official fetters
With just ability—God save the mark—
To run an office as its own Head Clerk.

The Author then turns to Lord Curzon :—

"For you have dwelt upon the banks of Isis,
Have trod the High beneath St. Mary's spire ;
Have read the Theaetetus and the Lysis,
And heard that 'happiness' is 'energeia,'
And tho' we not attain 'tis good to aspire :
Have steeped your mind in glamour of the past
And strained the teeming future to forecast.

"There where the ancient city musing lies,
A lovelier and a larger Academe ;
Where college gardens weave their phantasies
And tempt the scholar to lie still and dream,
Pursuing every high heroic theme,
Where Cherwell flows by Magdalen's placid walk
And men learn Plato's way by friendly talk.

"To you we turn our hopes, thinking that you
Will understand our troubles, and will deal
The measure of consideration due
To this high problem, or at least will feel
How vast the issues. And we make appeal
'Praeclaro tibi'—this our best defence is—
'Oxoniensi nos Oxonienses.'

"Here in Bengal are dragons to be slain,
Dragons without or claw or scaly fold,
Yet none the less a most pernicious bane,
That in red throttling coils and wreaths enrolled
The nursling Education tightly hold.
Oh haste and succour of your 'gentleness'
Our Lady Sarasvati in distress !

Finally, he concludes with the lesson to the "Competition-wallahs" that the "Bios Theoretikos" is higher than the "Bios Praktikos"—(*we* should say that the one should lead to the other, and both be combined—*orare et labore*) :—

"Action is glorious glory in the glow
Therefore ; the Bios Praktikos admire :
Yet, O ye competition-wallahs, know,
Because the soul's a spark of heavenly fire,
The Bios Theoretikos is higher :—
Which means, my friends, without undue detraction
The life of Thought excels the life of Action."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Reports on the Training of the Deaf for 1899, in the States of New York and Pennsylvania. New York and Philadelphia: Christopher Sower Company.

[These Reports are very interesting, but at present there is neither time nor space than to do more than mention them.]

The Dispensary Report of the Punjab for 1900.

[A hundred and twenty pages of *folio* size, of *tabulated figures*. What an enormous waste of time and money—but no, not of money, for it is printed, free of loss we imagine, at the *Civil and Military Gazette* Press. Here is an instance of both report-making and figures run mad. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal has also found occasion to inveigh against a similarly wasteful and useless "Report." Such a Report should in our opinion—and many others of similar import and value—be published *once in five years* and then furnish merely the totals, so as to come within a few pages. The *tons* of Government printing done for the Supreme and Local Governments—their cost must be many *lakhs*—might be reduced by nine-tenths, and may well form the subject of a commission* presided over by a genius for cutting down as Colonel Balfour in other days proved himself to be. But the days of *economy* seem to have disappeared from India with Army Boot Contracts given *for ten years in advance*—a thing utterly preposterous and unheard of,—and free competition in contracts being excluded in favour of a "superior" and "reliable" class of contractors! Of course, Lord Curzon has nothing to do with these—nevertheless *they would not have passed Lord Lawrence.*

Here we may also fitly ask, are there other "contracts" given out to Presses to the great enrichment of some, instead of being distributed among the many, and to the great saving of Government? A "Commission" to report on all and sundry Government "contracts"† would bring very curious things to light, and furnish food for comment to the Press itself for a year.]

Report of the Police Administration in the Punjab for 1900. Lahore: The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, sole Contractors for Printing to the Punjab Government. 1901.

Punjab Veterinary College and Civil Veterinary Department Report for 1900-1901. Lahore: The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, sole Contractors for Printing to the Punjab Government. 1901.

[It seems pretty clear from the above three "Reports" that the Punjab Government, unlike other Local Governments in India, has no Press of its own. Or, are these "contracts" given out *besides*? In old times generally papers that were weakly and could not stand alone or *whose support was required* were thus subsidised. We are not in a position to say that of the several presses which are still subsidised

* This "Commission" has, since our writing above, been appointed, only it is not comprehensive enough. When a thing like this is taken in hand, it should be *thoroughly sifted*, and the most important part not left *undone*.

† Especially *press and printing contracts*.

in one way or another under the present *régime*, whether their "support" is required, but we believe the one that is subsidised the heaviest has the least need for it. Or is it that, after all, if placed on its own footing and naked merits, it would not stand a chance with the other really independent papers? This is really a public question. We are also not in a position to say if any of the numerous Native journals are "subsidised" likewise. And it is strange that these journals which are so quick and clever at ferreting out supposed "abuses" of Government, and partiality to Europeans at the expense of the Natives, have never stumbled on this matter. Perhaps the "Congress" may take it up, and pay off old scores against certain papers, as well as point out the "abuse."]

Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of the N.-W. P. and Oudh for 1900. Allahabad: N.-W. P. and Oudh Government Press. 1901.

Notes on Vaccination in the N.-W. P. and Oudh for 1900-1901. Allahabad: N.-W. P. and Oudh Government Press. 1901.

Administration of the Registration Department, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for 1900-1901. Allahabad: Government Press, N.-W. P. and Oudh. 1901

Annual Returns of the Dispensaries and Charitable Institutions of the N.-W. P. and Oudh for 1900. Allahabad: Government Press, N.-W. P. and Oudh. 1901.

[Another some 150 *folio* pages of figures!]

The Agricultural Ledger. No. 3, 1901. Areca Catechu.

[We may notice this at length.]

Annual Reports of the Sibpur and Agricultural Experimental Farms for 1900-1901. The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Irrigation Wells N. W. P., 1 Bulletin No. 12, Agricultural Series. Government Pres

Cultivation of Sugar-Beet in North India, b Bulletin No. 13, Agricultural Series. Allahabad: Government 1901.

Different Systems of Housing Cattle and Conserving Manure, being Bulletin No. 14 Allahabad Government Press. 19

[All the above may receive further attention.]

Memorial to the Governor of Bombay by certain inhabitants of Sabet against the Land Bill.

[The *gist* of the memorial may be found in the following lines:—

"22. Your Excellency's Memorialists submit that to take away the people's inherent rights of alienating their land without compensating them is equivalent to taking their land itself, and that such a step on the part of Government has already produced a feeling of alarm as regards the safety and security of the people's private holdings, and Your Excellency's Memorialists humbly submit, is by no means justifiable under any circumstances whatsoever. If the Bill becomes law a land improved at a large outlay in good times would be liable to be taken away by Government if their dues thereon could not be paid in a bad year. This would be an ineffable hardship, since Government first disable by legislation the cultivator from mortgaging his land or doing anything to raise money to pay Government dues, and then, taking advantage of his inability to meet Government demands, deprive him of his land. But

the results of such a policy would be detrimental to the interests of Government themselves, as the cultivator, having an ephemeral interest in the land, can afford to be idle and may not feel himself called upon to put forth his best endeavours either to improve the land or pay Government dues and at the first touch of famine or distress leave the land and go away undisturbed, thus making Government lose their revenue for that year. The whole state of affairs in revenue administration might thus be thrown into chaos and confusion attended with serious loss of revenue.

23. Your Excellency's Memorialists submit that in times of scarcity the cultivator would be absolutely unable to pay the land revenue if the assistance of the money-lender is denied to him unless Government wish that such revenue should come out of any advance that the State might make to him.

24. Large numbers of Cultivators who tide over famine years by borrowing money from Sowcars on the security of their lands would be thrown on the Relief works when they are no longer free to offer that land as a security for the debt." It is no wonder that Lord George Hamilton characterized the opposition to the Bill arising only from the money-lending class.]

Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1899-1900. Vol. I. Washington : Government Printing Office. 1901.

Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 for the four months, April to July 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1899 and 1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901-1902.

Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India. Nos. 5, 6 and 7, for the month of October 1901, and for the seven months, 1st April to 31st October 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1899 and 1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901-1902.

A Monograph on Ivory-Carving in Bengal. By G. C. Dutt, Assistant to the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Bengal. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Report on the Legal Affairs of the Bengal Government for the year 1900-1901. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Report on the Administration of the Salt Department during the year 1900-1901. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Report on the Administration of the Excise Department in the Lower Provinces for the year 1900-1901. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Financial and Commercial Statistics of British India. Calcutta : Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.